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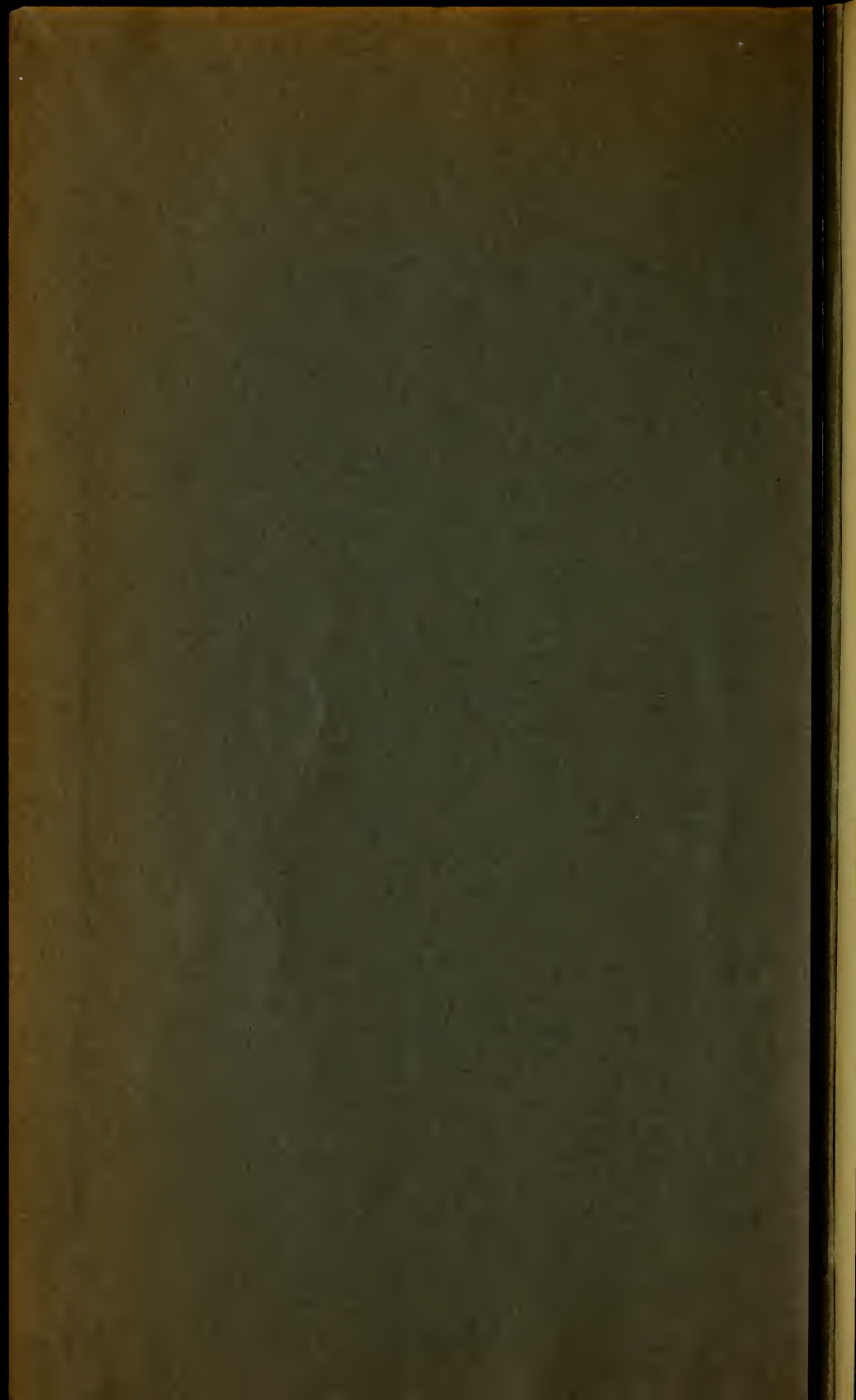
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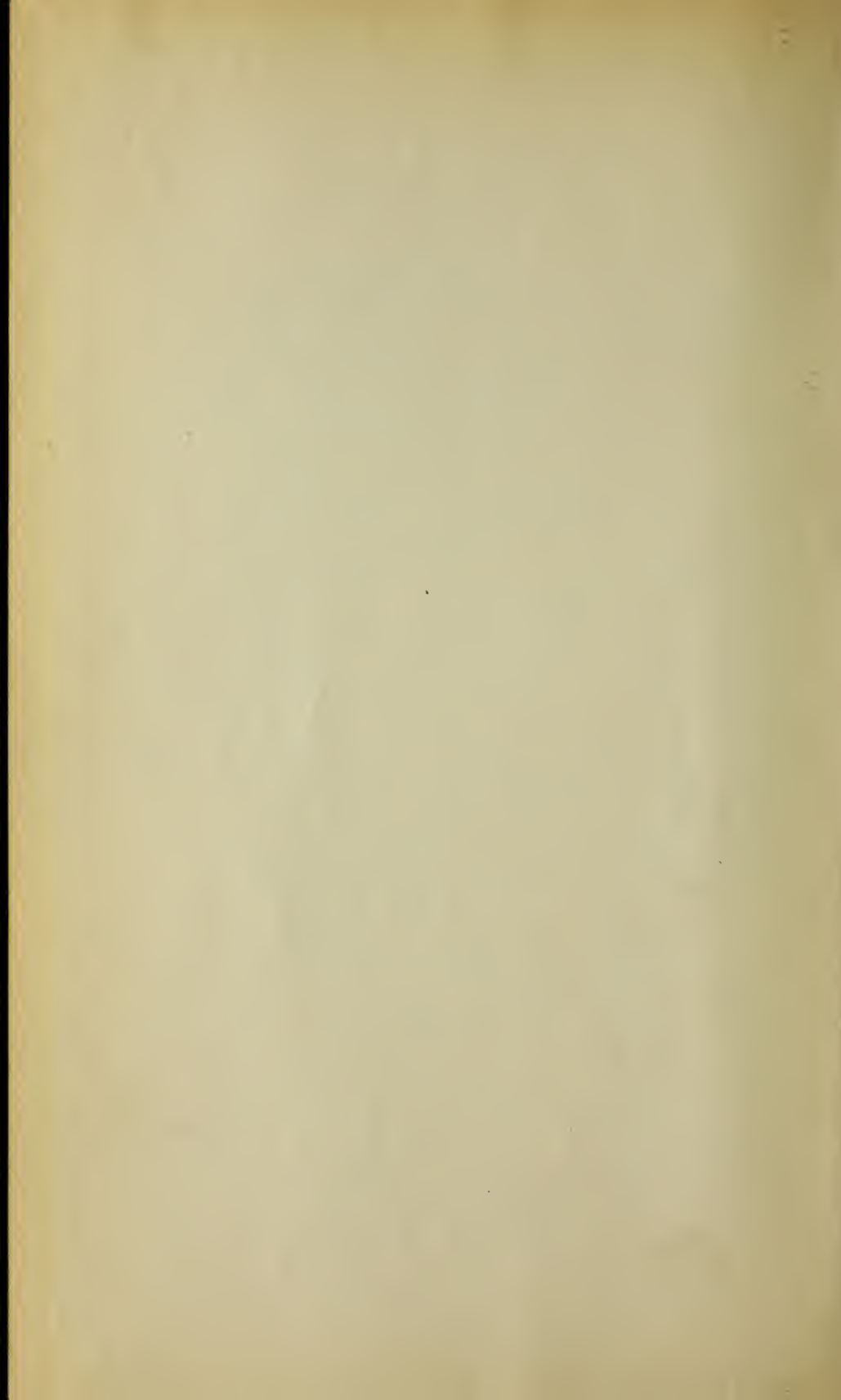
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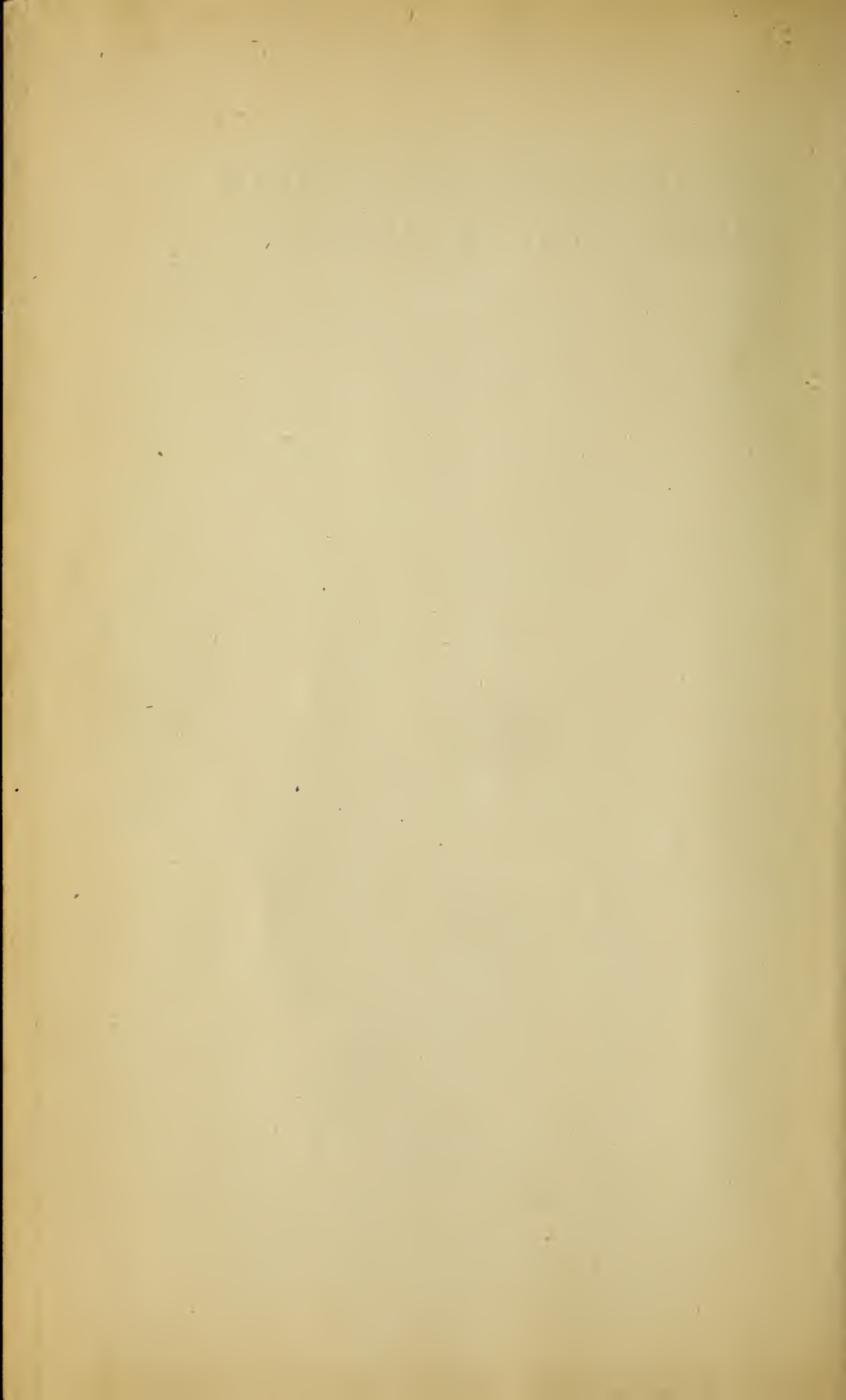
THE INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

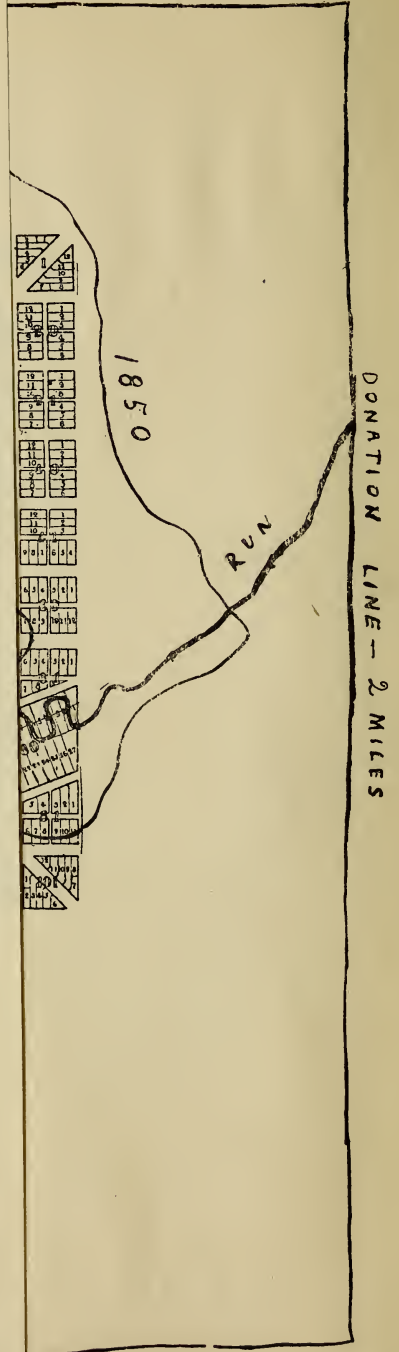
VOLUME II

1906

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GEO. S. COTTMAN
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
INDIANAPOLIS





by the late Ignatius Brown.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. II

MARCH, 1906

No. 1

THE OLD INDIAN TRADERS OF INDIANA

BY CHARLES B. LASSELLE

[This account of the early traders of Indiana was written nearly fifty years ago by Charles B. Lassel, of Logansport, now eighty-five years old. He is of a French family of traders that has been identified with the Wabash valley for more than one hundred and twenty-five years, and has himself been a life-long student of the earlier history of the valley and a collector of documents bearing upon the same; hence he speaks as an authority upon this all-but-forgotten early trade.—*Editor.*]

OF the early pioneers of our State, there is no class whose history, if known, would be more interesting than that of the old Indian traders. Far in advance of the progress, changes and improvements of civilization, they beheld our country in all the wildness, grandeur and solitude in which the God of nature placed it; and they commingled freely and familiarly with the aboriginal owners who have forever disappeared from its face. In point of time, they were among the first, if not themselves the first, of the explorers of the country, and are known to have visited and traded with the Indians within our borders about a century previous to our Revolutionary War. They have always occupied a prominent position in the early historical events of the country, as a controlling medium in the relations between the whites and Indians. But although—whether French, English or Americans—they have generally been men of education and general intelligence, yet such have been the peculiar nature and vicissitudes of their calling, that they have left us very few records of their experience.

The earliest traders were French, and came mostly from Montreal, in Canada. From this place they transported their merchandise up the St. Lawrence and across the shores of the Lakes, to their posts in the West, by means of the simple canoe. At first, and before the introduction of horses, the difficulties of passing Niagara Falls and the portage between the head waters

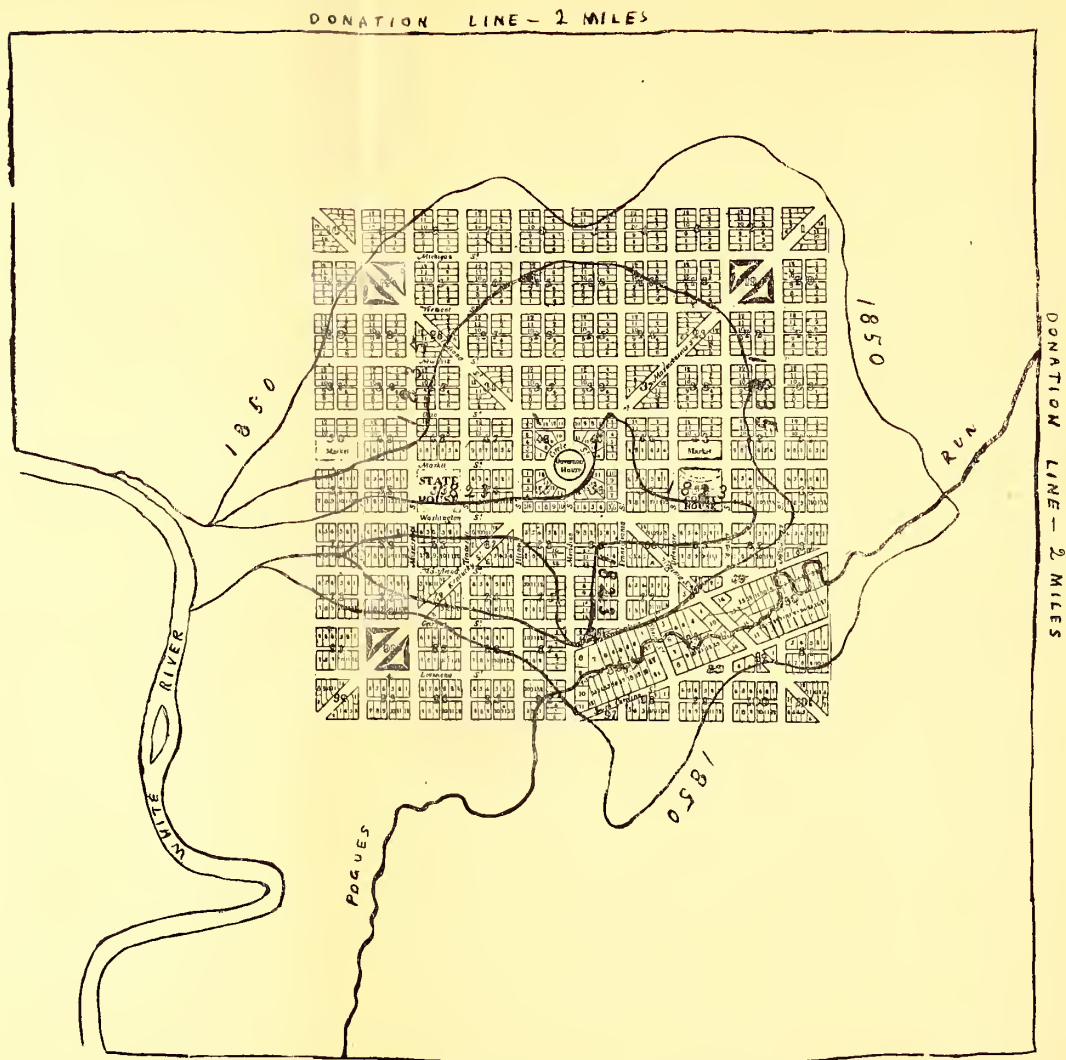


Chart of Indianapolis showing outlines of population in 1823, 1835 and 1850, as traced by the late Ignatius Brown.
Map of plat made in 1821.

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The earliest traders were French, and came mostly from Montreal, in Canada. From this place they transported their merchandise up the St. Lawrence and across the shores of the Lakes, to their posts in the West, by means of the simple canoe. At first, and before the introduction of horses, the difficulties of passing Niagara Falls and the portage between the head waters

of the streams running into the Lakes and the Mississippi were surmounted by carrying the canoes and merchandise by means of the men employed in the voyage. The Normandy horse, whose descendents have long been known as the Canadian and Indian ponies, having been introduced into Canada, was afterwards, and probably about 1720, brought to the West, and made to serve as pack-horses for all land transportation. And such were the principal modes of transportation in the West, at least in Indiana, from about 1680 to about 1812. The Canadian cart, samples of which are yet to be seen about the old French settlements, had indeed been used about the villages in the early day; but there being no roads of any length, other than the narrow Indian trail, they could not be used for distant transportation.

We can scarcely realize, at this day, the extent to which the Indian trade was carried on, both in the amount of goods sold, and the furs and the peltries received in exchange. When the country was first visited by the traders, the animals affording these commodities were found in great abundance. The Buffalo ranged in large numbers over the prairies of Illinois and those of our own State bordering on the Wabash, as well as in the forests in the vicinity of the salt springs. The Beaver, the remains of whose dams are yet to be found in many parts of the State, especially in the northern portion, was to be found in many of the northern streams. The Bear, Elk, Deer, Panther, Otter, Wolf, Wildcat, Fox and Raccoon, were also to be found in considerable numbers in various portions of the State. The Indians not having any weapons with which to take these animals but the simple stone-headed arrow, nor any clothing but the rude elk or deer skin, the introduction of the gun and merchandise by the traders, soon afforded both parties a rich harvest. And although the amount of furs produced was afterwards very much diminished by the destruction of game, yet it still continued large for a long time; and the trade yet yielded the traders large gains so late as about the year 1838, when the principal body of the Pottawattamie tribe of Indians emigrated west of the Mississippi.

It is perhaps impossible to state, at this distance of time, who was the first trader within the limits of our State, or when or where he traded. It is quite probable, however, that the northern

portion was traversed by some of their clerks, called "*couriers des bois*" (woods rangers,) between the years 1660-70; and it is certain that some of La Salle's men traded in the vicinity of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, in the year 1680. But the first of whom we have any definite account was the Sieur Juchereau, Lieutenant General of Montreal, who, we are told, established a trading post "on the Wabash," in the name of a company, for the collection of buffalo skins. There has indeed been some doubt as to the locality of this spot; but, coinciding with Judge Law in his address to the Vincennes Historical Society, 1839, for the reasons therein given, together with others, and especially the coincidence of its date of settlement with that of Vincennes, as given by its ancient inhabitants,* the writer deems it conclusive that the town of Vincennes is the site of this trading post.

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The Sieur Juchereau arrived at this spot, at the head of thirty-four Canadians, on the 28th of October, 1702, for the purpose, as mentioned, of trafficking for buffalo skins, and such was his success in the trade that in a little over two years afterwards there were collected at the post, at one time, upwards of thirteen thousand of those skins.† How many had been collected in the meantime and shipped off, is unknown. The establishment, however, soon met with disasters. Juchereau died; and, although he was succeeded by another, a Mr. Lambert, yet the hostilities of the Indians forced them to abandon it as a trading post, and Lambert with forty men descended to Mobile—then the headquarters of Louisiana—in the winter of 1705. The above mentioned number of skins having been left at that post, they were neglected by the agents of that company, and were eventually lost.‡

For a long while after Juchereau's settlement at Vincennes, we have no particular account of any other; although there must have been traders soon afterwards—at least by 1721—at the village of St. Joseph,§ Ke-ki-ong-a, We-ah-ta-non and Vincennes; as the three former places were well known to

*Dillon's Historical Notes, p. 100.

†Certainly a very interesting statement, in view of our meager knowledge of the buffalo in Indiana.—*Editor*.

‡La Harpe's Historical Journal, pp. 75, 88-89.

§Near the present town of South Bend.

the early French writers,* and the latter had also become a military post in 1716.†

Of those who traded at the above named and other points, from Juchereau's time until the date of Governor Harrison's list of 1801-2, the following only are known to the writer:—

At VINCENNES, Antoine Drouet de Richardville traded previous to the year 1764; but how long before is unknown. He had also traded, many years before, at Kaskaskia; and a promissory note, in the possession of the writer, which was given to him in the manner of those times, might be produced here as an ancient writing, and as the earliest specimen of the *commercial paper* of the West, known, it is believed, to the public. It reads thus:

"I, the undersigned, under my ordinary mark, owe to Sir de Drouet Richardville the sum of thirteen livres in beaver or other peltries, which I promise to pay in the course of the year seventeen hundred and thirty-nine. At Kaskaskia, April 21, 1738.

Witness:

M. P. Beaubien."

his

DELA ✕ VIGOIER.
mark.

John Bt. Bosseron traded at the same place (Vincennes) about 1760 to 1780; Francis Bosseron and Ambrose Dagenet from about 1775 to about 1790, and John M. P. Legrally, Adhemer St. Martin and Lawrence Bazadone, at times embraced in the latter periods. Two of these traders, Major Francis Bosseron and Col. J. M. P. Legrally (usually spelled Legras), also took a prominent part in the Revolutionary scenes about Vincennes in 1778-9, and rendered very valuable services in the American cause. There was a Piankashaw village adjoining this place, but the trade also extended to other tribes.

At KE-KI-ONG-A,‡ Joseph Drouet de Richardville, the father of the late Chief of the tribe, traded from about 1750 to about 1770; Peter F. La Fontain traded from about 1775 to 1795; John Beaubien traded during the same period; James Lasselle traded from 1776 to 1780. This individual having been an officer in the Canadian militia, was appointed to the superintendency of this "post" as an agent of Indian affairs, and re-

*Charlevoix, p. 189.

†La Harpe, p. 123.

‡Where Ft. Wayne stands

sided here with his family; but he was forced to abandon it precipitately on La Balme's expedition in the fall of 1780. David Gray, as one of a company, also traded here about the year 1786.

At WE-AH-TA-NON, Francis, Peter and Nicholas Berthelet, three brothers, traded from about 1776 to 1780. A Mr. Pielt also traded here at an early period, but the precise time is unknown. This place is said to have been a very early trading point, and Captain Croghan, who visited it in 1765, says of it in his journal, that "the great plenty of furs taken in this country, induced the French to establish this post, which was the first on the Wabash; and by a very advantageous trade, they have been richly recompensed for their labor."

At KE-NA-PE-KA-ME-KONG-A, or Eel River town, an old Miami village on Eel River, about six miles above the present town of Logansport, there were also traders at an early period. But the only one now known was James Godfrey (father of the late War Chief of the tribe), who traded from about 1775 to 1791, when the village was destroyed by General Wilkinson.

Besides those above mentioned there were many other traders at these and other places, and at other periods of time; but perhaps the above meager list is all that can now be furnished of the individuals.

TRADERS LICENSED BY GOVERNOR HARRISON.

I have in my possession a list of Indian traders that were licensed by Governor Harrison in 1801-2. The original document is in the handwriting of John Rice Jones, who acted as amanuensis for John Gibson, then Secretary of the Territory.

Nearly all in this list had traded with the Indians previous to this date and continued to do so afterwards. They are as follows, as given in the original:

Licenses granted by the Governor to Indian traders:

1801—November —. One to — Todd to trade with the Delawares on Blue River, where the road to Louisville crosses that river, (Note 1).

20th. One to Ambrose Dagenet to trade with the Miami nation at their town of Terrehaute, (2).

26th. One to — L'Espagnol to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Packangahelis, (3).

27th. One to Henry Mayrans to trade with the Miami nation at their town of Terrehaute.

27th. One to — Le Claire to trade with the Kickapoo nation of Indians at their town, (4).

27th. One to Francis Bonins to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town of Quinquiqui, (5).

27th. One to Thos. Lusby to trade with the Kikapoes at their town.

27th. One to Jno. Bt. Petriméan to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Mississippi, (6).

27th. One to Francis Lafantazie to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town of Chipaille, (7).

28th. One to William Morrison to trade with the Indians in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia, (8).

30th. One to Etienne Bisayon to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Telipockshy, (9).

30th. One to Antoine Lasselle to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Nantico, (10).

30th. One to Antoine Lasselle to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Grand Marias, (10).

30th. One to Louis Boure to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town of Coeur de Serf, (11).

30th. One to Hyacinth Lasselle to trade with the Miami nation at their town of Massissinou, (12).

30th. One to Baptiste Boismier to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Chatagnier, (13).

30th. One to Benoit Besayon to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town of Eel Creek, (14).

30th. One to John and William Conner to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Petchepencues, (15).

30th. One to John and William Conner to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Buckengelaus, (15).

December 4th. One to Baptiste Bino to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town of Tippiconou, (16).

4th. One to Baptiste Toupin to trade with the Kikapoe nation at their town.

4th. One to Francis Meilleur to trade with the Kikapoe nation at their town of Vermillion.

5th. One to Charles Johnson to trade with the Miami nation at their town of Terrehaute.

8th. One to Peter Thorn to trade with the Delaware nation at their town on the Ohio river, opposite the town of Henderson, in the State of Kentucky.

12th. One to Frederick Fisher to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of Buckengelis.

12th. One to Frederick Fisher to trade with the Shawnee nation at their Old Town, (17).

12th. One to Samuel Harrison to trade with the Cherokee nation at their town of Massac, (18).

12th. One to Michael Brouillet to trade with the Miami nation at their town of Renaud, (19).

12th. One to Louis Severs to trade with the Miami nation at their town of Little Wabash, (20).

12th. One with Jos. Dumay to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of White River Ferry.

15th. One to Germain Charbonneau to trade with the Miami nation at their town of Chipaille.

15th. One to Jannet Pillet to trade with the Delaware nation at their town of White River.

1802—January 7th. One to Joseph Numonville to trade with the Ottawa nation at their town of Machekigon, (21).

7th. One to Joseph Bailey, to trade with the Ottawa nation at their town on the Grand River, (22).

7th. One to Joseph Pirigaure, to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town of Kiakiki, (23).

7th. One to Joseph Machard, to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town of Kiakiki, (24).

7th. One to Joseph Ricard, to trade with the Ottawa nation at their town of Grand River, (24).

7th. One to Etienne Lamorandiere to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town Kickalimazo, (24).

7th. One to Peter Prejan, to trade with the Potawatimie and Ottawa nations at their town on the River St. Joseph, (25).

7th. One to John Griffin to trade with the Potawatimie nation at their town of Kiakiki, (25).

The above list comprises the most of those who traded within the present limits of the State, for some years previous to its territorial date and until the commencement of hostilities in 1811; although there were some others afterwards licensed by Governor

Harrison and by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Detroit. The war of course put a stop to the trade during its continuance; but on its close in 1815, it was resumed—generally by new traders—to a much less extent. The old traders, as before remarked, having with great unanimity taken up arms for the protection of the frontiers against the Indians, the survivors had too much lost the confidence of the Indians to make it pleasant or profitable to resume the business.

At Fort Harrison it was resumed in 1815, mostly with the Delawares, Pottawattamies, Shawnees and Kickapoos, and was continued at that point until about 1820. The principal traders here at that period were Pierre La Plante, Etienne Bisayon, — Wallace, Anthony Lafons, — Gilbert, — Rollon and Michael Brouillet. About this period the Shawnees, Kickapoos and Delawares removed from the limits of the State, except a few of the latter near the eastern boundary, leaving only the Pottawattamies and Miamis, with whom the trade was continued in the northern portion of the State—the former mostly inhabiting the country on the Tippecanoe, the Kankakee and the St. Joseph rivers; the latter that on the Wabash, Eel, the little St. Joseph and the St. Mary rivers.

John B. Richardville, the late Chief of the Miamis, traded with that tribe, at Fort Wayne, from about 1815 to 1836.

David Conner traded mostly with the same tribe, at the village on the Mississinnewa, from about 1815 to 1846.

Alexis Coquillard and John E. Swartz traded with the Miamis and Pottawattamies, on the Little St. Joseph, about forty miles from Ft. Wayne, from 1817 to 1821.

Coquillard and Francis Comparet traded—the former at South Bend with the Pottawattamies; the latter at Ft. Wayne with the Miamis—from 1821 to 1835.

John B. Duret, as agent of the American Fur Company, traded, mostly with the Pottawattamies, at a spot on the southern bank of the Wabash, a short distance above the mouth of Rock Creek, in Carroll county, from 1820 to 1823.

George Cicott traded with the Pottawattamies, at a village of that tribe on the north bank of the Wabash, nearly opposite the last named place, from 1820 to 1823, and then till 1827 on his reserve near Georgetown.

Edward McCartney traded with both tribes, on the north and south banks of the Wabash, about a mile below the present town of Logansport, from about 1820 to 1828.

Hollister and Hunt traded, mostly with the Miamis, at Ft. Wayne, from about 1820 to 1828.

John B. Godfrey and James Peltier traded at the same place, during about the same period, as the last named.

William G. and George W. Ewing, brothers, traded at the same place, from 1822 to 1828, and continued the trade afterwards—the former at Fort Wayne till 1845, and the latter at Logansport till 1838.

John D. Doure traded at Fort Wayne from 1822 to 1838.

Barnet and Hanna traded at the same place from 1824 to 1828.

Hanna and Hamilton traded at the same place from 1825 to 1830.

John B. Jutrace traded with the Pottawattamies at a spot about three miles southwardly of the present town of Plymouth, from about 1825 to about 1835.

David Burr traded, mostly with the Miamis, at the site of the present town of Wabash, from 1826 to 1839.

John McGregor, with the same tribe, at Miamisport, near the present town of Peru, from 1827 to 1834.

Jesse Vermilya, with the same tribe, at the river Aboite, in Allen county, from 1827 to 1844.

Hugh B. McKeen, with both tribes, at the present town of Logansport, from 1827 to 1828.

Antoine Gamelin and Richard Chabert, mostly with the Pottawattamies, about a mile below the same place, on the north bank of the Wabash, during about the same period.

Joseph Barron, mostly with the same tribe, a short distance below Logansport, from 1827 to 1838. This trader had commenced life among the Indians on the Wabash, mostly as a clerk for the traders at an early day, and acted as an able interpreter for the Government for a period of more than forty years. He was one of the interpreters at the celebrated council at Vincennes, in 1810, between Tecumseh and Governor Harrison, and is said to have contributed much to their reconciliation by correctly giving the language of Tecumseh, which had been misinterpreted by another. His biography alone, if fully written, would

furnish a very interesting chapter in the history of the country, as would indeed many of those already named; but a brief reference, only, can be made of them in this short sketch.

Chauncy Carter traded with both tribes at Logansport from 1828 to 1830.

Francis D. Lasselle traded with the Miamis on White River, and at Ft. Wayne, from 1828 to 1836.

Allen Hamilton and Cyrus Taber—the former at Fort Wayne, the latter at Logansport—traded with both tribes from about 1828 to 1838. This firm, and that of W. G. & G. W. Ewing, above mentioned, carried on the trade much more extensively than any other of the modern traders, and by means of its profits and dealings in lands amassed much wealth.

Charles Conway traded with the Miamis, at Miamisport, near the present site of Peru, from 1829 to 1832.

Henry Ossem and Richard Chabret traded with the Pottawattamies at Turkey-creek Prairie, in Kosciusko county, from 1830 to 1835.

William S. Edsall, with the Miamis, at Huntington, from 1834 to 1837.

Alexander Wilson with the same tribe, at Peru, from 1834 to 1845.

Daniel R. Bearss, with the same tribe, at the same place, from 1834 to 1857.

Moses Folk, with the same tribe, at the same place, from 1839 to 1857.

James T. Miller, with the same tribe, at the same place, from 1836 to 1857.

The Pottawattamies having been removed to the west of the Mississippi, in the year 1838, and the main part of the Miamis in 1845, the trade has been gradually diminishing since the former period, so that now it is confined in a limited extent to the Miamis, who inhabit their reservations in the country lying south of the Wabash, between the towns of Peru and Fort Wayne. Indeed it may be said that the *Indian trade* proper, that is, the traffic with them for furs and peltries, has ceased to exist since the part removal of the Miamis,—a tribe which, as they were the first known inhabitants of the country embraced within the limits of the State, are the latest survivors of all

their red cotemporaries, and which, by their general good character and condition, bear testimony that they have not materially degenerated by a long intercourse with their ancient friends and patrons, the old Indian Traders.

NOTES.

1. Nothing known of this trader. The locality of his trading place would be in Washington county, near the town of Fredericksburg.

2. This *Terrehaute* was inhabited by the *Weah* branch of the *Miamis*, and was situated near the present town of *Terre Haute*, which was named after it.

3. Properly *Buck-ong-a-he-las*, so called after the chief of the *Delawares*, on the head waters of *White river*, and probably near the present town of *Muncietown*. The true name of this trader is believed to be — *Simon*; that of *L'Espanol* [*Spaniard*] being a nickname.

4. Nothing known of this trader. The *Kickapoos* had several villages on and near the *Vermillion rivers* in *Vermillion county*. This was probably the principal one, in which the Chief resided, who was called by the traders *Jose Renard* [*Joe the Fox*], the same who led the attack on *Ft. Harrison* in 1812.

5. *Kankakee*, on the river of that name; but its location unknown.

6. This place is supposed to have been on the *Mississippi*, in *Lower Illinois*, as the *Delawares* also inhabited that part of the country. This trader afterwards traded at *Chepaille*.

7. This trader continued to trade here until his death in 1806. This place, pronounced *Shepoy*, was on the *Wabash river*, in *Warren county*, about a mile above the present town of *Independence*.

8. *Kaskaskia*, *Illinois*.

9. The locality of this place is unknown. He afterwards traded at *Fort Harrison* in 1815–20.

10. An old trader on the *Miami of the Lake*. These places were in *Ohio*.

11. This trader afterwards (from about 1803 to 1809) traded at *Ft. Wayne*, and kept pack horses and a warehouse for the deposit and transportation of merchandise and peltries in transit at the portage between the *Miami* and the *Wabash*. The local-

ity of Cœur de Serf, properly Cœur de Cerf [elk's heart], was on the Elkhart river.

12. This trader (late Gen. H. L., of Logansport), was born at the village of Ke-ki-ong-a in 1777, from which, as before mentioned, his father was obliged to flee on La Balme's expedition in 1780. He returned to the Wabash in 1795, and traded at Chépaille, at the mouth of the Little Vermillion, at Mississinnewa, and at Vincennes. This trading place (Mississinnewa) was at the settlement or village of the late Chief Godfrey, a few miles above Peru.

13. This trader and his trading place are both unknown to the writer.

14. An old trader; he also traded with the Miamis in 1807. When the hostilities commenced with the Indians in 1811, nearly all the traders offered their valuable services as scouts or soldiers in the defense of the country. Mr. Besayon, having with others joined Colonel Hopkin's expedition up the Wabash in 1812, was in the detachment of about seventy mounted men which fell into the ambuscade of about 500 Indians in the ravines of the Wild Cat, called by the survivors "Spur's Defeat" (about seven miles northeastwardly from the present town of Lafayette). He was captured in the retreat by the Indians, who, well knowing him, and regarding him as a kind of traitor to them, condemned him at once to the most cruel of deaths—the faggot and stake. They bound him to a tree, piled combustible material about him, to which they set fire, and were proceeding to enact the scenes of triumph and torture usual upon such occasions; but a young warrior who yet regarded him with affection, and desiring to relieve him from so horrid a fate, hastily snatched up a rifle and shot him dead. Eel creek, on which he traded, is now the Eel river which empties into White river, but the locality of his trading place is unknown.

15. John and William Conner, brothers, were old traders, and were prominent men in their day. William, especially, rendered much service as interpreter and otherwise at several treaties with the Indians. Petchepencues was probably intended for Ponceaupichou, or, as sometimes called, Ponce-passu, the old name of Wild Cat creek, on the head waters of which some of

the Delawares lived.* The other village is, properly, Buck-ong-a-he-las, before mentioned.

16. This village of Tippecanoe was on the Wabash, a few miles below the mouth of the Tippecanoe river.

17. The site of the present Shawneetown, on the Ohio, in Illinois.

18. In Massac county, Illinois.

19. This trader traded in 1804 with the Kickapoos on the Vermillion, and at Fort Harrison after the war. It is suggested that the name of this trading place thus given is a mistake, and should read Renard, a Kickapoo village, so called after their Chief, [Note 4.]

20. Nothing known of this trader. His trading place was on what is now called Little river, a head stream of the Wabash.

21. In the present State of Michigan.

22. Also in Michigan.

23. Kankakee.

24. In Michigan.

25. The St. Joseph of Lake Michigan.

WILD ANIMALS OF INDIANA.

Apropos to Mr. Lasselle's article on the old fur traders, the editor recalls a small account book and a number of other papers that came to his notice some time since. These records, dated 1859, were left by A. B. Cole, of Noblesville, an agent who purchased of local trappers and transferred his peltries to the Ewing fur company, of Fort Wayne. What animals contributed to this branch of commerce, together with their comparative numbers and values, is shown by these old leaflets, of which the following is a sample:

Invoice of furs and peltries sold Ewing, Walker & Co., by Conner, Stevenson & Cole:

*Mr. Lasselle errs here. The Conner trading post was on White river, four miles below the present site of Noblesville.—*Editor*.

2795	First lot raccoon skins.....	\$1,871 00
184	Second lot raccoon skins.....	89 00
259	Third lot raccoon skins	46 62
102	First lot fox skins	76 50
18	Second lot fox skins	7 00
48	First lot wildcat skins	36 00
3	First lot wolf skins.....	1 50
943	First lot deer skins.....	707 25
112	Winter and towhead skins.....	35 00
75	Spotted fawn skins.....	15 00
802	First lot mink skins.....	601 50
182	Second lot mink skins.....	68 25
142	Third lot mink skins	17 75
1	Cub bear skin.....	2 50
1	Second quality fisher skin	1 00
13	Otter (best) skins.....	104 00
Total		\$3,679 87

According to this invoice, raccoon, deer and mink skins were considerably in excess of any other kind. The deer hair was of little use, the value being in the skin, which was extensively utilized for wearing apparel and other purposes. The raccoon and similar furs were largely made into felt and used for a species of hat which went by the name of beaver.

How abundantly our forests teemed with fur-bearing animals will be apparent when we reflect that for nearly a century and a half the fur trade, with its insatiable demands, invaded the territory and carried on the process of extermination. During the French occupancy pirogues of the Canadian wood-rangers carried hence untold thousands of bales of skins. After them the Mackinaw Company, the American Fur Company and John Jacob Astor extended their traffic into this region, drawing to Detroit and Canada, by way of the Wabash, vast quantities of beaver, otter and other less valuable peltries. Yet later (in the twenties) the houses of G. W. and W. G. Ewing were established at Fort Wayne and Logansport, and these houses, extending their agencies through the State, assumed considerable proportions. These two brothers are said to have amassed fortunes that aggregated about two million dollars.

The persistency with which many of the native fauna clung to their once wild haunts long after civilization supplanted the

wilderness is worthy of note. In Indiana wolves have been reported from various localities within the last few years; the Canadian lynx has been killed in Tippecanoe and Montgomery counties within the last twenty years; wildcats were occasionally seen in Franklin county as late as 1869, and doubtless much later in some parts of the State; a bear was found in LaGrange county in 1876, and deer have been seen much later. The same is true of the otter and the badger. The red fox is still hunted.

The late George W. Pitts, of Indianapolis, who during the thirties and forties trapped and hunted extensively along White river, has stated to the writer that the larger and rarer animals were driven out of Marion county and the adjoining territory at a comparatively early date. Wolves, he said, had disappeared by 1835; the latest bear he knew of was seen in 1838; his father shot a catamount about 1828. The latter animal was very rare at that date, but wildcats remained until the early forties. Deer were shot as late as 1847; porcupines he remembered seeing in 1835; beavers, once plentiful here, according to him, were extinct by 1830. Beaver at that time led all other pelts in value, being worth from \$6 to \$10. Otter came next, bringing \$2.50 to \$3; but a decade or so later otter rose to \$10 or \$12, by reason of the Russian demand for our best furs.

An odd and somewhat ludicrous wolf trap was described to the writer by Mr. Pitts. A hollow shell of a tree was selected and a hole large enough to admit a wolf's head cut three or four feet from the ground. From the hole downward a slot was made wide enough for the animal's neck to slip down. By way of bait, blood was smeared about the opening and a piece of meat placed in the hollow of the tree. The wolf, in his efforts to get at the meat, thrust his head in at the hole, and, his neck slipping down the slot, was held as if in a stanchion. The rearing up again with his head in the tree was a difficult if not impossible feat.

Another trap, much used by the Indians, was made of such materials as the woods afforded, and was at once simple and effective. A number of sticks were driven in the ground to form a semi-circular pen, at the open end of which were placed two forks or crotches, one on either side. A pole was laid on these forks and another on the ground directly beneath, forming a kind of sill across the entrance to the pen. The next feature

was a heavy pole, or small log, for a deadfall. This was suspended from a piece of grapevine or strip of linden bark, which, passing up over the pole in the forks, was looped over a trigger. This trigger was simply a light stick, which reached down to a third small pole placed against the sides of the forked posts near the ground, which, preventing the weights from pulling the trigger over the top pole, was in turn held in place by the pressure of the trigger. The bait was placed in the pen. The game, venturing in at the entrance, his foot or body pressed down the small pole over which he must step; the trigger was released and the deadfall quickly pinned him to the sill on the ground. These traps would be made of any dimensions, and for all sizes of game, from rabbits to bears.

SQUIRREL "BURGOO."

THE following description of an old-time squirrel "burgoo" was gleaned by a newspaper reporter some years since from Samuel Corbaley, of Indianapolis:

"I was born in Wayne township in 1834, and can remember when, in the early forties, the squirrels (black and gray) were so plentiful they almost destroyed the young corn. I think it was the spring of '43 that my father's neighbors proposed to kill all the squirrels around his farm if he would furnish the bread for a burgoo. A day was appointed, and corn bread enough for a small army baked by my mother and the neighbor women. Three large iron sugar kettles, filled with water, were hung up near a spring. Beverly Ballard, a Kentuckian, was appointed chief cook. The neighbors, with rifles, approached the farm from every direction, and there was a continuous fusillade until 10 o'clock, when, by agreement, the hunters met, and threw down not less than two hundred squirrels. As they were skinned and washed, they were handed over to the cook for boiling. Then followed a feast. Soup was served in tin cups; squirrels were taken out whole with pointed sticks, and corn pone was served with soup made hot with home-raised pepper.

"After dinner the targets were set up and there was a test as to the best shot; and many times the center was hit at a distance of twenty, forty and fifty yards."

MEMOIR OF DAVID HOOVER.

[David Hoover was one of the first and best known of the pioneers of the upper Whitewater. As is related below, he penetrated to the spot where Richmond now stands and settled there in 1806; was the original surveyor of the town when it was founded, and gave the place its name. It may be added that he was a citizen of the county for sixty years, and occupied various public trusts, being successively justice of the peace, associate judge of the Wayne County Circuit Court, and clerk of that court. The latter office he held nearly fourteen years. His memoir, not intended for publication originally, was printed in pamphlet form in 1857, by Mr. Isaac B. Julian. Very few of these pamphlets are now in existence and a special interest may attach to the reprinting of the memoir by reason of the centennial anniversary of the settlement of Wayne county, which occurs this spring.—*Editor.*]

I THINK it is Lawrence Sterne who says that—among other things which he mentions—every person should write a book; and as I have not yet done that, I am now going to write one. As it has always been interesting to me to read biographical sketches, and historical reminiscences of bygone days, I have concluded that some information concerning myself and family, might, perhaps, amuse some of my descendants, at least. The name is pretty extensively scattered throughout this country; such information may therefore be of some interest to them, as it may enable them to trace back their genealogy to the original stock.

I was born on a small water-course, called Huwaree, a branch of the Yadkin river, in Randolph county, North Carolina, on the 14th day of April, 1781; and am now in the seventy-third year of my age. It is customary, in personal sketches of this kind, to say something of one's parents and education. I can only say, that my parents were always considered very exemplary in all their walk through life. As to education, my opportunities were exceedingly limited; and had it not been for my inclination and perseverance, I should, in all probability, at this day be numbered among those who can scarcely write their names, or perhaps should only be able to make a "X," in placing my signature to a written instrument. In order to show the state of society in my early youth, as an evidence of the intelligence of the

circle in which I was raised, I can say of a truth, that I never had an opportunity of reading a newspaper, nor did I ever see a bank-note, until after I was a man grown.

As to my ancestors, I know but little. If my information is correct, my grandfather, Andrew Hoover, left Germany when a boy; married Margaret Fouts, in Pennsylvania; and settled on Pipe creek in Maryland. There my father was born; and from thence, now about one hundred years ago, he removed to North Carolina, then a new country. He left eight sons and five daughters, all of whom had large families. Their descendants are mostly scattered through what we call the Western country. Rudolph Waymire, my grandfather on my mother's side, emigrated from Hanover in Germany, after he had several children. He used to brag that he was a soldier under His Britannic Majesty, and that he was at the head of the battle of Dettingen in 1743. He left one son and seven daughters by his first wife. Their descendants are also mostly to be found in this country.

My father had a family of ten children, four sons and six daughters. In order to better our circumstances, he came to the conclusion of moving to a new country, and sold his possessions accordingly. He was then worth rising of two thousand dollars; which at that time, and in that country, was considered very considerably over an average in point of wealth. On the 19th of September, 1802, we loaded our wagon, and wended our way toward that portion of what was then called the Northwestern Territory which constitutes the present State of Ohio.

Here permit me to make a passing remark. I was then in the twenty-second year of my age. I had formed an acquaintance and brought myself into notice perhaps rather more extensively than falls to the lot of most country boys. Did language afford terms adequate to describe my sensations on shaking hands with my youthful compeers, and giving them a final farewell, I would gladly do so. Suffice it to say, that those only who have been placed in like circumstances, can appreciate my feelings on that occasion. And although I have lived to be an old man, and experienced the various vicissitudes attendant on a journey through life thus far, I yet look back to that time as the most interesting scene through which I have passed. My mind at this day is carried back to my early associations and school-boy days,

to my native hills and pine forests; and I can say that there is a kind of indescribable charm in the very name of my natal spot, very different from aught that pertains to any other place on the globe.

After about five weeks' journeying, we crossed the Ohio river at Cincinnati, then a mere village, composed mostly of log houses. I think it was the day after an election had been held at that place for delegates to the convention to form a Constitution; at any rate a Constitution was formed the following winter, which was amended only within the last few years. After crossing the river, we pushed on to Stillwater, about twelve miles north of Dayton, in what is now the county of Montgomery. A number of our acquaintances had located themselves there the previous spring. There we encamped in the woods the first winter. The place had proved so unhealthy that we felt discouraged and much dissatisfied, and concluded not to locate there. My father then purchased two hundred acres of land, not far from Lebanon, in Warren county, as a home, until we could make further examinations. John Smith, afterward one of the proprietors of Richmond, purchased one hundred acres in the same neighborhood, with similar views. Our object was to find a suitable place for making a settlement, and where but few or no entries had been made. But a small portion of the land lying west of the Great Miami, or east of the Little Miami, was settled at that time. We were hard to please. We Carolinians would scarcely look at the best land where spring water was lacking. Among other considerations, we wished to get further south. We examined divers sections of the unsettled parts of Ohio, without finding any location that would please us. John Smith, Robert Hill and myself partially examined the country between the Falls of the Ohio and Vincennes, before there was a line run in that part of the Territory; and returned much discouraged, as we found nothing inviting in that quarter.

Thus time passed on until the spring of 1806, when myself and four others, rather accidentally, took a section line some eight or ten miles north of Dayton, and traced it a distance of more than thirty miles, through an unbroken forest, to where I am now writing. It was the last of February, or the first of March, when I first saw Whitewater. On my return to my father's, I

informed him that I thought I had found the country we had been in search of. Spring water, timber, and building rock appeared to be abundant, and the face of the country looked delightful. In about three weeks after this, my father, with several others, accompanied me to this "land of promise." As a military man would say, we made a *reconnoissance*, but returned rather discouraged, as it appeared at that time too far from home. Were it necessary, I might here state some of our views at that time, which would show up our extreme ignorance of what has since taken place. On returning from this trip, we saw stakes sticking among the beech trees where Eaton now stands, which was among the nearest approaches of the white man to this place. With the exception of George Holman and a few others, who settled some miles south of this, in the spring of 1805, there were but few families within twenty miles of this place.

It was not until the last of May or the first of June that the first entries were made. John Smith then entered south of Main street, where Richmond now stands, and several other tracts. My father entered the land upon which I now live, I having selected it on my first trip, and several other quarter sections. About harvest of this same year, Jeremiah Cox reached here from good old North Carolina, and purchased where the north part of Richmond now stands. If I mistake not, it had been previously entered by John Meek, the father of Jesse Meek, and had been transferred to Joseph Woodkirk, of whom J. Cox made the purchase. Said Cox also entered several other tracts. Jeremiah Cox, John Smith, and my father, were then looked upon as rather leaders in the Society of Friends. Their location here had a tendency of drawing others, and soon caused a great rush to Whitewater; and land that I thought would never be settled was rapidly taken up and improved. Had I a little more vanity, I might almost claim the credit (if credit it be) of having been the pioneer of the great body of Friends now to be found in this region; as I think it very doubtful whether three Yearly Meetings would convene in this county, had I not traced the line before mentioned.

I was now in the twenty-fifth year of my age, and thus far had been rather a wayfaring disciple, not doing much for my-

self or any other person. Having now selected a spot for a home, I thought the time had come to be up and doing. I therefore married a girl named Catharine Yount, near the Great Miami; and on the last day of March, 1807, reached with our little plunder the hill where I am now living. It may not be uninteresting here to name some of the first settlers in the different neighborhoods. On the East Fork were the Flemings, Irelands, Hills, Wassons, Maxwells, etc. At the mouth of Elkhorn were the Hunts, Whiteheads and Endsleys. In this neighborhood were the Smiths, Coxes, Wrights and Hoovers, several of whom commenced operations in the woods in the spring and summer of 1806. This may emphatically be said to have been the day of "log-cabins" and log-rollings; and, although we were in an unbroken forest, without even a blazed pathway from one settlement to another, we yet enjoyed a friendship, and a neighborly interchange of kind offices, which are unknown at this time. Although we had to step on puncheon floors, and eat our corn-bread and venison, or turkey, off of broad pieces of split timber, and drive forks in one corner of our cabins, with cross timbers driven into the walls, for bedsteads, there was no grumbling or complaining of low markets and hard times. The questions of Tariff and National Bank were truly "obsolete ideas" in those days. It was the first week in April before some of us commenced operations in the woods; but we mostly raised corn enough to do us. There was, however, no mill to grind it, and for some weeks we grated all the meal we made use of. About Christmas, Charles Hunt started a mill, on a cheap scale, near the mouth of Elkhorn, which did our grinding until J. Cox established one near to where Richmond now stands, and which now belongs to Basil Brightwell.

The Indian boundary was at this time about three miles west of us. The Indians lived on White river, and were frequently among us. They at one time packed off 400 bushels of shelled corn, which they purchased of John Smith. In 1809 a purchase was made, called the "Twelve Mile Purchase,"¹ and a goodly number settled on it before it was surveyed; but the war of 1812 coming on, the settlers mostly left their locations, and removed to places of more security. Those who remained built forts and "block houses." The settlers in this neighborhood mostly stood

their ground, but suffered considerably with fear. George Shugart then lived where Newport now stands, some miles from any other inhabitant. In the language of the Friends, he "did not feel clear" in leaving his home, and he manfully stood his ground unmolested, except by those whom we then styled the "Rangers," from whom he received some abuse for his boldness. The Indians took three scalps out of this county, and stole a number of horses. Candor, however, compels me to say that, as is usually the case, we Christians were the aggressors. After peace was made, in 1814, the twelve mile purchase settled very rapidly.

It will not be amiss, at this stage of our narrative, to state that when we first settled here, the now State of Indiana was called Indiana Territory, and we belonged to Dearborn county, which embraced all the territory purchased from the Indians at the treaty of Greenville, extending from the mouth of the Kentucky river to Fort Recovery. The counties of Wayne and Franklin were afterwards formed out of the northern part of this territory. Although Governor Harrison had the appointing power, he gave the people the privilege of choosing their own officers. An election was accordingly held, when it was found that Peter Fleming, Jeremiah Meek and Aaron Martin were elected Judges, George Hunt, Clerk, and John Turner, Sheriff. County courts were then held by three associate judges, and county business was done before them. One of the first courts held in this county, under the Territorial government, convened under the shade of a tree, on the premises then belonging to Richard Rue, Esq., Judge Park presiding and James Noble prosecutor. In order to show the legal knowledge we backwoodsmen were then in possession of, I will relate the following case. A boy was indicted for stealing a knife, a traverse jury was empaneled, and took their seats upon a log. The indictment was read, and, as usual, set out that the offender, with *force and arms*, did feloniously steal, take, and carry away, etc. After hearing the case, the jury retired to another log to make up their verdict. Jeremiah Cox, one of the jurors, and afterwards a member of the convention to frame a Constitution, and of the Legislature, concluded they must find the defendant guilty, but he thought the indictment "was rather too bad for so small an offense." I suppose he

thought the words "with force and arms" uncalled for, and thought rightly enough, too.

Some further illustration of our legal knowledge and the spirit of our legislation at this time may be interesting. Although the Friends constituted a large portion of the inhabitants in this quarter, there were in other parts of the county men in whose craniums the military spirit was pretty strongly developed, before the war of 1812 was declared. When that came on, this spirit manifested itself in all its rigor. The Friends were much harassed on account of their refusal to do military duty. Some were drafted, and had their property sacrificed, and at the next call were again drafted, and fined. Four young men were thrown into the county jail during the most inclement cold weather; fire was denied them until they should comply; and had it not been for the humane feeling of David F. Sackett, who handed them hot bricks through the grates, they must have suffered severely. Suits were subsequently brought against the officers for false imprisonment. The trials were had at Brookville, in Franklin county. They all recovered damages, but I have every reason to believe that the whole of the damages and costs was paid out of the moneys extorted from others of the Friends. To cap the climax of absurdity and outrage, the gentlemen officers arrested an old man named Jacob Elliott, and tried him by a court-martial, for treason, found him guilty, and sentenced him to be shot! but gave him a chance to run away in the dark, they firing off their guns at the same time. It would fill a considerable volume to give a detailed history of the *noble patriots* of those days, and of their wisdom and valorous exploits; but this must suffice.

Connected with this subject, permit me a word respecting my own course. I think it is well known that from first to last I stood by the Friends like a brother (as I would again do under similar circumstances), and used my influence in their favor; yet from some cause, best known to themselves, I have apparently lost the confidence and friendship of a good number of them. The most serious charge which has yet reached me, is that I have not got "the true faith," and not that I have done anything wrong. Of this I do not complain; but must be permitted to say that their course towards me was rather gratuitous.

I feel confident that they can not in truth say that they have at any time received aught but disinterested friendship from me; and if some of them can reconcile their course toward me with a sense of duty, and of doing by me as I have at all times done by them, I shall therewith be content.

In 1816 we elected delegates to the convention which formed our late Constitution, and named the State Indiana. On the third day of February following, I was elected Clerk of Wayne Circuit Court, and by favor of the voters of the county, held the office nearly fourteen years. I was prevented from serving out my full constitutional term of office, by a deceptive ruling of the Court, which I have no fears will ever be hunted up as a precedent in a similar or any other case.

I was almost the first man who set foot in this part of Wayne county, and have been an actor in it for more than forty years. It may not be out of place here for me to say, that I feel conscious I often erred through ignorance, and perhaps through wilfulness. Yet (and with gratitude be it spoken), it has fallen to the lot of few men to retain so long the standing which I think I still have among all classes of my fellow citizens. I believe it is a privilege conceded to old men to boast of what they have been, and what they have done. I shall therefore take the liberty of saying, that I have now seven commissions by me, for offices which I have held, besides having had a seat in the Senate of this State for six years.

I will add, that in the employ and under the direction of John Smith and Jeremiah Cox, I laid off the city of Richmond, did all their clerking, wrote their deeds, etc. If I recollect rightly, it was first named Smithville, after one of the proprietors; but that name did not give general satisfaction. Thomas Robbards, James Pegg, and myself, were then chosen to select a name for the place. Robbards proposed Waterford, Pegg, Plainfield, and I made choice of Richmond, which latter name received the preference of the lot-holders.

I have some fears that the preceding remarks may be looked upon as betraying the vanity of an old man; but I wish it distinctly understood, that I ascribe the little favors which I have received, more to surrounding circumstances, and the partiality of my friends, than to any qualification or merits in myself.

There are several other subjects connected with the early history of Wayne county, on which I could dwell at some length. I could refer to the first dominant party, their arbitrary proceeding in fixing the county seat at Salisbury, the seven years' war and contention which followed, ending with the final location of the shiretown at Centreville.² But as the rival parties in that contest have mostly left the stage, and the subject is almost forgotten, I think it unnecessary to disturb it.

A lengthy chapter might be written on the improvements which have been made within the last fifty years in Wayne county (to say nothing of the rest of the world), in the arts and sciences generally, but as I do not feel myself competent to the task, I shall not attempt it.

And now, in bringing this crude and undigested account of my experience to a close, short as it is, it gives rise to many serious reflections. When I look back upon the number of those who set out in life with me, full of hope, and who have fallen by the way, and gone to that bourne from whence there is no returning, with not even a rude stone to mark the spot where their mortal remains are deposited, language fails me, and indeed there is no language adequate to the expression of my feelings. I shall therefore drop the subject, leaving the reader to fill up the blank in his own way.

In conclusion, let me say a word about my politics and religion. In politics, I profess to belong to the Jeffersonian school. I view Thomas Jefferson as decidedly the greatest statesman that America has yet produced. He was the chief apostle of both Political and Religious Liberty. My motto is taken from his first Inaugural: "Equal and exact justice to all men"—and I will add—without calling in question their political or religious faith, country, or color.

And here I wish it distinctly understood, and remembered, that I stood almost alone in this section of the State, in opposition to our ruinous system of internal improvements, concocted and brought about at the sessions of the Legislature in the years 1835 to 1836; which resulted in the creation of a State debt which the present generation will not see paid; and which has verified the text in the old Book to the very letter, which says that the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon their children to the third and fourth generations.

As to religion:

Happy is he, the only happy man,
Who, from *choice*, does all the good he can.

"The world is my country, and my religion is to do right." I am a firm believer in the Christian religion, though not as lived up to by most of its professors of the present day. In the language of Jefferson, I look upon the "Christian philosophy as the most sublime and benevolent, but most perverted system that ever shone on man." I have no use for the priesthood, nor can I abide the shackles of sectarian dogmas. I see no necessity for confessions of faith, creeds, forms and ceremonies. In the most comprehensive sense of the word, I am opposed to all wars, and to slavery; and trust the time is not far distant when they will be numbered among the things that were, and viewed as we now look back upon some of the doings of what we are pleased to style the dark ages.

Note 1.—Among the first settlers of the twelve mile purchase, rather in the vicinity of Centreville, were Danial Noland, Henry Bryan, Isaac Julian, William Harvey, Nathan Overman, George Grimes, etc. Other pioneers, whose names I can not now recall, were thinly scattered over other portions of the "purchase."—I. H. J.

Note 2.—The county seat was finally established at Centreville in April, 1820. The first court held in Wayne county, as appears from the records, met at the home of Richard Rue, February, 1811. Wayne county was organized in November, 1810.

JUDGE HOOVER'S RECORD AS TO LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, PEACE
AND FREEDOM.

Appended to his Memoir, Judge Hoover copied the following Memorial and postscript, prepared and subscribed by him at an early period of our history, which he seemed to think should go with it, as showing more positively his position in regard to the matters referred to in the same. It may with propriety be added, that at an early day in this county, Anti-Slavery and Peace Societies were formed, of which Judge Hoover, Elder David Purviance, and other prominent citizens in various parts of the county, were leading members:

To William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, the Legislative Council, and House of Representatives, at Vincennes met:

The Memorial of the Society of Friends of the said Territory respectfully represents:

That few if any of the present members of the Legislature, we presume, are altogether unacquainted with the conscientious scruples of Friends against bearing arms, or acting in any manner as military men, ever since they became a religious society. And considering the penalties and sufferings they have heretofore been subject to on that account, there is no room left to suppose that their declining to act in that capacity proceeded from obstinacy, or a disregard to the laws of their country. They conceive that, notwithstanding they have always declined the use of the sword, they have not been useless citizens; and that the indulgence which has been granted to conscientious people in other governments, has not in any manner been prejudicial to the real interest of those countries, but rather that it has been a means of inducing useful citizens to settle and improve various parts thereof. Nor does it admit of a doubt, that penal laws, designed to force people to act in violation of what they believe to be their duty to their Maker, never did and never will promote the true interest and safety of any country. And although heavy fines have heretofore in some cases been impressed for non-attendance of musters, and often doubled by unreasonable seizures, to the great distress of some poor families; yet it seems hardly probable that the public have been much, if at all, benefited by these extortions. Your memorialists, therefore, can not suppose that it can be a desirable object with a free and enlightened people, to subject any denomination of Christians to penalties and sufferings, either in their persons or property, on account of their religious opinions, which can never be injurious to the country at large, or to any individual. All of which we submit to the Legislature, that they may make such amendment of the present militia laws as to them may seem reasonable and just.

And your Memorialists, etc.

P. S.—The laws subjecting the Quakers to fines for not mustering were repealed; but after the battle of Tippecanoe, they were re-enacted with a vengeance.

OLD SETTLERS' MEETING.

[Extract from an account of the first Settlers' Meeting in Wayne county, and probably the first in the State, taken from the *Richmond Jeffersonian* of September 13, 1855.]

PRESIDENT, David Hoover; vice-presidents, Smith Hunt and John Peele. After prayer, some interesting portions of the proceedings of the first Board of Commissioners of Wayne county, dating as far back as 1817, were read, which were illustrated by relations of divers incidents of those early days by Messrs. Rariden, Test, Newman, and others.

John Beard, of Milton, was then called on for his "experience." He gave an account of his removal to this region, and the gratification he felt in exchanging the red soil, full of flint stones, of his native Carolina, for the black and fertile lands of Indiana. In the vigor of youth, he regarded not the Herculean labors and hardships which then rose before him, for, to use his own words, he "felt that he had a fortune in his own bones." He declared that, although looking back from the present time the lives of the pioneers might appear by no means enviable, yet they did not so seem to these who experienced them. Mr. Beard added, among other interesting facts, that a little daughter of his own was the first white person who died in the present limits of Wayne county-(in 1807); and that the first settlers had to go either to Lawrenceburg or Hamilton to mill.

Mr. Beard was followed in similar details of experience by Smith Hunt, Henry and Frederick Hoover, John Peele, Jeremiah L. Meek, and others.

Perhaps both the oldest man and the oldest settler present was Hugh Cull.

The next meeting is appointed for the last Sunday in September, 1856, at Centreville. The idea of such meetings is highly laudable, and we trust that hereafter, due efforts will be made to enlist the interest and presence of as many of the early settlers as possible, so as the more effectually to further the objects proposed by these social reunions of the rapidly diminishing remnant of the men and women to whom the present generation are so much indebted.

EARLY INDIANAPOLIS.

THE FLETCHER PAPERS.

[In 1879 there was published in *The Indianapolis News* a series of articles by the Rev. J. C. Fletcher on Early Days in Indianapolis. These papers, some twenty-five in number, were printed at intervals from March to September, making, in the aggregate, an amount of matter wholly beyond the limits of the space to be spared in this magazine. Much of this matter was second-hand, and a repetition of facts that had already been published in the city histories. On the other hand, not a little of it was based upon two documents of antiquarian value, which are to the present day kept in private possession as being, in the main, of family interest only. These are the journals of Mr. Calvin Fletcher, the elder, and his wife, which record happenings in the new capital at a very early day. These journals, where quoted directly or where drawn upon, afford glimpses of life, society, conditions and events that are wholly fresh and a distinct contribution to the source material of Indianapolis history. Such matter as has, in my judgment, this distinct value, I have selected from the series, making free with the text in the matter of abridgement. The student who may wish to make use of the full text, may do so by aid of the references given. The full series may be found in issues of the above paper for March 10, 15, 22, 29; April 4, 12, 19, 26; May 10, 17, 24; June 7, 14, 21, 28; July 5, 12, 19, 26; August 2, 9, 16, 25; September 10, 19. The portions selected will probably run throughout this year.—*Editor*.]

First Religious Items—First Sale of Lots—First Frame House—First Private Libraries—The "Collins Axe"—Judge McIlvaine's Cotton Crop—Pioneer Industry—Tallow and Culture—Social Life—Christmas Party and Barrel of Cider—New Year's Ball, the First Great Social Event.

From the News of March 10, 1879.

IN perusing, recently, a brief diary kept by my mother (who died in 1854) I found several interesting religious facts and data in connection with the history of Indianapolis.

My father was married to Sarah Hill, in Urbana, O., May 1, 1821. He made a preliminary visit to Indianapolis in August of that year. On September 19, accompanied by my mother, he began his second journey to Indianapolis, arriving here in nine days. On the first day of October he rented a log cabin on block 70, lot No. 2. In my father's journal, date of Dec. 31, 1821, I find this entry:

"I am now situated on block 70, lot No. 2, in a little cabin, 16 x 17 feet, belonging to a Mr. Cap, of Cincinnati."

It was here that my mother began the brief diary referred to. The persons most frequently mentioned in the diary are Mr. James Blake, Mr. and Mrs. Paxton, Dr. Coe, Mr. and Mrs. Nowland, Mrs. Bates, the Hawkins's, B. F. Morris, Dr. Dunlap, the Bradleys, the Yandes's, and Judge and Mrs. Wick.

These are the religious data I have spoken of:

"Sunday, Nov. 18, 1821. I attended prayer-meeting at Mr. Stevens'.

"Sunday, Nov. 25. I attended preaching at Mr. Hawkins', where I heard a very good sermon by a Newlight minister. The text was: 'See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil.'

"Sunday, Dec. 30. I heard a sermon delivered by a Newlight minister which I did not think commendable, but we must allow for it, as it has not been but about three months since he began to speak in public.

"Sunday, May 12, 1822. I attended preaching in the Governor's Circle. It was the first sermon ever delivered at that place. Rev. Mr. Proctor took his text from the 30th chapter of Proverbs, and 17th verse: 'Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.' In the afternoon he delivered another sermon from Luke XV:7: 'I say unto you that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner who repenteth.' The preacher is a Presbyterian and a very good orator.

"Tuesday, 14th. In the morning it rained and in the afternoon it was clear but muddy. Mr. Fletcher attended preaching at the schoolhouse. The sermon was delivered by Mr. Proctor, who took for his text Ps. 42, 1st verse: 'As the hart panteth after the water brook, so panteth my soul after thee, O God!'

"Monday, the 20th of May. Rainy and disagreeable. Rev. Mr. Proctor, Dr. Coe, Mr. Linton, Mr. Fletcher and myself all dined at Mr. Nowland's.

"Tuesday, 21st. I rode (horseback) out in the country about two miles to Mr. Burton's with Mr. Paxton and Mrs. Nowland.

May 28th. This day we moved into Mr. Blake's house* and took possession for one year.

*On Washington street west of Illinois.

"Friday, 31st. This day Mr. Fletcher started on the circuit.* We arose early in the morning. It was quite pleasing to hear the birds. How cheerfully they sung! Their notes were so mingled that a person could not distinguish one bird from another. This day Mr. Rice, a Presbyterian preacher, and Dr. Coe dined with Mr. Blake and myself.

"Sunday, 9th June. Mrs. Wick and I attended Methodist preaching.

"Sunday, 16th June. In the morning Mr. Blake went to Sabbath school.†

"Sunday, 12th July. This day attended Baptist preaching at the schoolhouse. * * * Camp meeting commenced the 13th day of September and held four days.‡

"Sunday, April 15th, 1823. Our school commenced, which, I hope, will be of great benefit to the children of our town."§

I find three funerals recorded in my mother's journal, as follows:

"Sunday, March 24, 1822. Attended a funeral and a burial.|| I did not see a single tear shed in the whole assemblage, except by Mrs. Nowland, when she showed me where her child was buried.

"Sunday, 12th of July, 1822. This day Mr. Jones departed this life, about 8 o'clock in the morning. * * * He is to be buried this afternoon.

"Monday, November 11, ('22). About two o'clock p. m. Mr. Nowland departed this life, and, it was said, very happily. He said he 'had made his peace with God, and was willing to go.'

"Tuesday, November 12. Rev. Mr. Proctor delivered a very pathetic sermon on the occasion [of Mr. Nowland's burial]. His text was: 'It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting.'"

*Under the old constitution, the president circuit judge held courts over an extensive territory, and it was a custom of the lawyers to travel with him throughout the judicial circuit.—*Editor*.

†The first mention of a Sabbath school in Indianapolis.—*J. C. F.*

‡Was not this the first camp meeting held in Marion county?—*J. C. F.*

§This doubtless refers to the re-commencing of the Sunday-school begun June 26, 1822.—*J. C. F.*

||Who the person buried was I have no means of knowing.—*J. C. F.*

From the News of April 4.

On the 8th of October, 1821, Indianapolis was to have her first great gathering. It was on that day that the sale of lots of the newly laid out capital took place. Carter's and Hawkins' tavern, Nowland's and other boarding houses were crowded. In her journal Mrs. Calvin Fletcher wrote:

"October 8, 1821. The sale of lots commenced near our house. A large concourse of people were present."

This could not have been far from Washington and Missouri streets, as block 70, lot 2, is west of Missouri, on the south side of Washington. The sale, as my father once informed me, began upon a day that was overcast and gloomy. The wind was high, and while the auctioneer was urging the bidding a limb was wrenched from its place in the trees overhead, and one of the bystanders came near being killed. The sales continued for a week, and no less than 313 lots were disposed of. The total which these slices of Indianapolis amounted to was \$35,596.25, but the cash payment received at the time by the agent was only 20 per cent., the remaining four-fifths to be paid in four annual instalments. The average price of lots was about \$113. The highest priced one was that on the northwest corner of Washington and Delaware streets, which brought \$500. It is probable that the price paid was owing to the fact that the court house was to be built on the opposite square and it would be valuable as a tavern or dram shop site.*

In his journal, date of October 1, 1821, my father says: "I found the place very sickly," but it appears that after the week of the sale everything put on a better face. My mother speaks of the beauty of the Indian summer. Much of the bright foliage, however, was not to be stripped by the blasts, for the woods were resounding with the stroke of the ax and the crash of falling trees.

The favorite ax of those days was the "Collins ax," manufactured at Hartford, Conn. It seemed to me very strange in after years to find in the great valley of the Amazon that there was one American manufacture which Sheffield and Birmingham could not drive out. The Indian of the Amazon cleaves his way through matted jungles with a "machete" made by Collins & Co.,

*Ignatius Brown says \$560 for this lot. The site has been for years and is now occupied by a saloon.—*Editor.*

while the knife and hatchet, and the instrument with which he grubs up the ipecacuanha, are all manufactured by the same house which, more than a half-century ago, furnished the axes that chopped down the trees in the streets of Indianapolis.

Cabins arose as if by magic, and one man, Colonel Paxton, had the audacity to begin a frame house on the south side of Washington street (near Illinois). This building, before it was finished, was sold to Mr. James Blake. My father and mother were to be the first occupants, and here my brothers, Elijah and Miles, and myself were born. The main body of this magnificent residence was one story high, and consisted of two rooms, neither of which could have been more than fifteen feet square, connected by a covered space with a kitchen. My mother in her journal speaks of moving from their smoky cabin to this frame house in May, 1822, while my father has left in his diary a copy of the agreement by which he rented the house from Mr. Blake. As it illustrates the prices of board and rent at that day I copy the contract. It sets forth that:

"The said Blake covenants and agrees to give to the said Fletcher possession of the frame house standing on block 67, lot 12, as soon as it shall be fixed convenient for a family to dwell therein, together with the said lot, which the said Fletcher is to have and enjoy for the term of one year from and after the time he takes possession. In consideration of the above premises he, the said Fletcher, is to board the said Blake during the year, * * * and the said Blake is to give the said Fletcher ten bushels of corn as a further consideration of board; and the said Blake is to have the privilege of the east room of said house in common with said Fletcher, together with the stable and said lot."

Colonel Blake was the first in Indianapolis to have a non-professional collection of miscellaneous works that might be called a library. My father and Mr. Merrill were next in the list with literary works, Mr. Merrill's collection being the larger. Goldsmith's "Animated Nature" and the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments" were the first books, except the Bible, read to me by my mother, that made an impression upon me.

From the News of April 12.

In October, 1821, there were three weeks of beautiful weather, and my mother says in her journal, under the date of October 27:

"This day is very pleasant and rather smoky. It appears like Indian summer. We have had very little rain in this place for about three weeks. This has made it very favorable for those who have moved in and are building."

Under such circumstances Indianapolis may be said to have begun her existence. The sale of more than three hundred lots, but few of which were purchased on speculation, brought hither those who were to be permanent settlers. There seemed to be a most kindly disposition on the part of the people toward each other. Visits were the order of the day and mutual aid was never withheld. There was not a capitalist in Indianapolis—but few were even with the world—and there was not a man or woman, however exalted their social position in the land whence they came, but put his or her hand to work in the frontier life of the New Purchase. In her journal I find my mother writing on the 1st day of November, as follows.

"This day I was spinning wool at Mr. McIlvain's."

This Mr. McIlvain was the earliest justice of the peace in Indianapolis. He was an upright, Christian man, who had been associate justice in Ohio and was afterward elected one of the associate judges for Marion county. His log cabin stood not far from the present site of the Second Presbyterian Church. One of my earliest recollections is that of a visit to Judge McIlvain's. He cultivated the ground that is around the church, and produced the usual crop of corn and potatoes. He also was the first to raise poultry on an extended scale. There was one crop that was unusual, and which, I presume, he was the first and the last to raise in Indianapolis. My father informed me that when he first came here, in the summer of 1821, he found Judge James McIlvain living at the place I have indicated, and that, amongst other things he had planted, was quite a large patch of cotton. This cotton came to maturity in the autumn, and served the purpose, when spun, of candle wicking.

I spoke of the alacrity with which new Indianapolitans aided each other and turned their hands to everything. I give a few instances, quoting from my mother's journal:

"November 5, 1821. Mr. Fletcher has been helping Mr. Blake husk corn." Again: "Friday, December 7. We killed a beef. Mr. Paxton and Mr. Blake helped to butcher it." Again, under the date of November 24: "Mrs. Nowland was making a

bonnet. She came to me to know whether I could make it. I did not understand it, but gave her all the instruction I possibly could." Other entries are: "I was very much engaged in trying out my tallow;" "To-day I dipped candles;" "To-day I finished the 'Vicar of Wakefield';" and, "I commenced to read the Life of Washington." There was also an inkling of a singing-school in "I borrowed of Mr. Blake a singing book." There are afterwards notices of the singing-school, where all that could sing joined for mutual improvement. One of the leading singers was Henry Bradley, who was one of the early pillars of the Baptist church in Indianapolis.

The reference in this journal to dinner parties, teas, quiltings, etc., are exceedingly numerous. Good feeling pervaded the whole community. While there was genuine western hospitality, there were some other motives at the bottom for such constant courtesy on the part of many of the new-comers toward the rank and file. There was to be an election of county officers in the spring and hence the endeavor on the side of certain gentlemen to win over by politeness and attention every voter and his wife.

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The first mention of any musical instrument in the journal is in an entry of December 27, 1821:

"I was sitting by the fire and Mr. Fletcher was reading Robertson's history of America when the news came that Mr. Blake had returned from Corydon. Mr. F. has gone to see him, and when I write a few more lines I will go also, although I feel very much fatigued, for it is a long time since I have heard the fiddle played. I think it will seem very melodious, and I am just about to start to hear it."

But while there were plenty of calls, visits, etc., the great social events of the winter were the Christmas and New Year's parties. The former was a "stag" party, and the latter was a ball. My father's journal is more full in regard to Christmas, 1821:

"This day I got up at sunrise. I visited several of my neighbors, who all appeared friendly. About ten o'clock I went to the river" [on the banks of which there were then more cabins than elsewhere]. "I found at Mr. McGeorge's a large collection of men, principally the candidates for the new county offices. The

county is just being laid off. McGeorge had the only barrel of cider in town. I suppose it to have cost him about seven dollars. In the liberality of the candidates the barrel was unheaded, and all promiscuously drank. But as the cider was frozen, the dog-irons were put red-hot into the barrel. After having drank heartily of the cider they took brandy, which soon produced intoxication. A friend of mine, having in some way made a mistake as to its inebriating qualities, took too much. I therefore left the company and came home with him. I found a great degree of accommodation and courtesy used among all classes. The candidates led the concourse from one place to another till sundown."

The ladies on that Christmas appeared to have had a very unostentatious time of it, for they spent the day in much quiet visiting.

"Tuesday, Christmas," writes my mother, "Mrs. Bradley and Mrs. Paxton came and spent the day with me. They dined with me. Then Mrs. B. and I went to Mrs. Paxton's, where we both took tea. After remaining a while I returned home, and then went to the Nowland's. I then came home again and read a chapter in the Bible, etc."

The crowning social occasion of the season was a New Year's party given at Mr. Wyant's cabin, of which occasion Colonel Blake was the master, as he was of most public assemblies. I have now before me the invitation to that first party of a ceremonious kind ever given in the New Purchase. This is the first invitation of a formal nature ever penned here. There was no printing press at that time in Indianapolis, and there was evidently but very little writing paper. The paper is four by two and three-quarter inches, and the invitation, written in a clear hand, reads:

"The company of Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher is requested to a party at J. Wyant's, Tuesday, the first day of January, 1822, at 3 o'clock p. m.

Managers, A. W. RUSSELL,
K. A. SCUDDER."

"Indianapolis, December 28, 1821."

We can see how democratic were the hours in those primitive days. This party or ball began at three p. m. and concluded at midnight.

[*To be continued.*]

SOME OLD INDIANAPOLIS DOCUMENTS.

MR. ALBERT JOHNSON, of Irvington, has in his possession a mass of papers dating back to the early twenties, and belonging originally to his father and grandfather, who came to Indianapolis soon after its founding. These are legal documents, receipts, orders and miscellaneous scraps, which, besides the many autographs, have an interest because of little sidelights they throw on the transactions and primitive business methods of our earlier days when money was scarce and a system of payment in commodities more or less necessary. The following are samples:

"On demand, I promise to make for Jeremiah Johnson, or order, four pair of good shoes, two pair of coarse, strong shoes, two pair, if wished, fine shoes—(?) and bound. Witness my hand and seal, this 21st day of September, 1824.

"SAMUEL JOHNS."

"Mr. James Cooley please pay to Jeremiah Johnson, the bearer of this, ten pairs of coarse shoes agreeable to our agreement. * * *

WILLIAM KENNARD."

"June 21, 1822."

"Mr. William Bay—Sir: You will please to pay to Jeremiah Johnson 157 bushels of sound corn on my account.

"JOHN E. BARY."

"Ten days after date I promise to pay to Jeremiah Johnson 100 pounds of good merchantable wheat flour.

"ISAAC COOL."

The following itemized bill gives an idea of the then market prices of various commodities:

4 lbs. coffee.....	\$1 00
$\frac{1}{4}$ lb. tea.....	0 31 $\frac{1}{4}$
4 lbs. sugar.....	0 50
1 lb. wrought nails.....	0 31 $\frac{1}{4}$
200 segars	0 50
50 lbs. biscuit.....	2 50
1 bushel meal.....	0 25
3 lbs. butter.....	0 18 $\frac{3}{4}$
1 peck salt.....	0 25
1 augur.....	0 50
2 lbs. nail.....	0 25
Cable (boat rope).....	1 32

The legal instruments and forms were pretty nearly as crude as those used in private business. The official reports of the county officers were written on ordinary sheets of writing paper, distinguished only by a faint, half-legible seal, and the tax receipts were on ragged scraps of sheets, printed, when printed at all, in a style that would, at the present day, excite the derision of an apprentice in a country office. A manuscript tax notice written by Jeremiah Johnson when he was collector for Marion county states that "I will receive taxes at my house on Pennsylvania street, in Indianapolis, until the first day of July next," after which date "two per centum commission will be added to the amount of each person's tax." An interesting glimpse of the county revenue from taxables is given by a document which is worth giving in full:

"The State of Indiana, Marion County.

"This certifies to the treasurer of Marion county that Asa B. Strong, collector of the revenue of said county for the year 1833, is chargeable for county purposes with—

1,740 polls at 37½ cents each.....	\$ 652 50
1,839 horses at 12½ cents each.....	229 87.5
564 oxen at 6¼ cents each.....	35 25
86 silver watches.....	21 50
4 gold watches.....	2 00
25 brass clocks.....	12 50
1 two-wheeled pleasure carriage.....	1 00
4 four-wheeled pleasure carriages.....	6 00
Stud horses.....	51 00
Resident town lots.....	165 65.5
Non-resident town lots.....	57 83
6,325 82-100 acres first-rate (resident) land at (40)...	25 30.3
80,132 80-100 acres second-rate (resident) land at (30)	204 39.8
10,814 .06-100 acres third-rate (resident) land at (20)	21 62.8
1,538 95-100 acres first-rate (non-resident) land at (40).....	6 15.5
26,694 78-100 acres second-rate (non-resident) land at (30).....	80 08.02
782 acres third-rate (non-resident) land at (20).....	1 56.4
Road tax on non-resident land.....	87 80.1
Total.....	\$1,689 94.1

"In testimony whereof, I, James M. Ray, clerk of the Marion Circuit Court, do hereunto set my hand and seal of office this May 15, A. D. 1833.

JAMES M. RAY, *Clerk.*"

An amusing sample from the collection is an invitation to a social function sent out by Governor Noah Noble. Typography as an esthetic art seems to have been unknown in the West in those days, and this, set up in big body type, is printed haphazard somewhere near the middle of a generous sheet out of all proportion as to size and margin. It evidently was an established form with the Governor, for his name is affixed in type instead of chirography and the blanks left for date and hour are filled in by his hand. It reads:

“INDIANAPOLIS, December 16, 1834.

“Sir—You are requested to unite with gentlemen of the Legislature and others in a social party at my house on Wednesday evening, 5 o'clock.
N. NOBLE.”

REMINISCENCES OF AMOS HANWAY.

From Paper read before the Indiana Centennial Association, July 4, 1900.

I CAME to Indianapolis with my father's family on the 21st of June, 1821, being then a boy in my fifth year. The family had lived in Vincennes several years before that time. Our voyage here was in an Olean Point flatboat. We went down the Wabash to the mouth of White river and came up to Indianapolis, the boat being poled along up the stream the entire way. I think, from what I have heard, that as much as three weeks were occupied in the journey from Vincennes. My father and Mr. Burke pushed the boat up-stream.

There were eighteen houses here at that time, all cabins. They were built along the bank of White river, extending about from the place of our landing to a point near where the Vandalia railroad bridge is situated. Among these eighteen families I remember John and Michael and David Van Blaricum, Daniel Yandes, Dr. Isaac Coe, John McCormick, Isaac Wilson, a Mr. Concord, Bethuel Dunning, the ferryman, Obadiah Harris, a Mr. Frazier, Jeremiah Collins and a Mr. Keeler.

The White river bridge was built in 1832 and 1833. The fine poplar timbers of this bridge were whip-sawed on the bank

where the bridge was to be, on a frame, reaching out from the bank there. The timber was got up the river eight miles and hewed about square, from a foot to three feet square, in the woods, and I rafted it down to the place where it was whip-sawed into proper shapes.

I saw the Delaware and Miami tribes of Indians pass through, going West. They camped by the river, and in the morning all of them went in swimming. They said they never swam in the evening or at night. There was a large tribe of them, over a thousand, I think, all friendly.

Camp meetings were held by the Methodists every year. The first one was south of town, on the Three-notch Line (now South Meridian street). It was on Kelly's farm, and a great crowd attended. The Methodist preachers were great enthusiasts, men of power, eloquence and earnestness. They did important work in bringing the people to the support of good government, morality and religion. Among the great men who preached there were John Strange, Edwin Ray, James Havens, Edwin Ames and James Armstrong. The next camp meetings were held for years on the Military Park ground, near the canal. Afterward the meeting was on the land occupied by the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and next it was in the grove on the land at the then north end of Illinois street, at old First street.

The National road was graded through Indianapolis in the year 1832, I believe, and some years after the grading the road from East street to Big Eagle creek, west of town, was macadamized. The broken stone was put on in strata of three inches at a time, three times, nine inches in all. Each layer was settled by use for a time, and then the next was put on. After this little patch of macadam stone was put on, Jackson and Van Buren vetoed all the National road bills, so it was a very bad road till the State gave it to a plank-road company, and the people soon rode on a plank floor, which was good till it rotted or wore out.

THE EARLY SCHOOLS OF INDIANA.

FROM THE PAPERS OF D. D. BANTA.

[The most ambitious and best known work on education in Indiana is that by Prof. Richard G. Boone, which appeared in 1892. The same year, but prior to the printing of Mr. Boone's book, Judge D. D. Banta, then of the Indiana University Law School, an old-time resident of Johnson county, and author of a history of that county, published in *The Indianapolis News* a series of papers on this important subject. Judge Banta's style of treatment and the ground he covers are so widely different from those of Professor Boone that it is so much new matter to one familiar with Boone. The articles, largely anecdotal and revealing an intimate knowledge of pioneer life and early happenings, give a graphic view of conditions not to be gleaned from a more formal work based wholly upon scholarship. They have a value all their own, and should be of interest to all educators. The series contains too much matter to be reprinted entire in this magazine, but I have taken the liberty to preserve the substance of them and those parts that seem to me most valuable as real contributions to our school history. By the references given the reader who wishes can consult the original, to be found in files in either the State Library or the City Library in Indianapolis. There are ten of the articles, which appear in *The News* of 1892, under date of January 6, 13, 20, 27; February 3, 10, 17, 24; March 16, 23. The articles will run in these pages throughout the year.—*Editor.*]

Educational Status of the Pioneers—First Schools in the State—Distances to the School—Private Houses, Barns, Mills, etc., as School-houses—Rudeness of the First Houses Built—Curious Styles of Building.

THERE is a class which entertains the belief that the early settlers of Indiana were not as well educated as were the early settlers of her sister States. I think this belief was quite generally entertained a half century ago, and, perhaps, even later by the people of these sister States. I do not know why this belief should be held by any one to-day. I know of no reason why the Indiana pioneers should not be considered as the equals in every respect of the pioneer settlers of any of the other States at that period.

It is stated by Gilmore, in "The Advance Guard of Western Civilization," that of the 256 settlers who moved in 1779-'80 to the after site of Nashville, all but one could write his name. Of thirty-six settlers on the north side of the Ohio, within the present boundaries of the State of Ohio, who signed the petition directed to Lieutenant-Colonel Harmer, in 1765, one only signed by his mark. Mr. Roosevelt, in writing "The Winning of the West," had occasion to examine a great many documents written and signed by the pioneer Tennesseans and Kentuckians, and he gives testimony as following:

"In examining original drafts of petitions and the like, signed by the hundreds of original settlers of Tennessee and Kentucky, I have been struck by the small proportion—not much over three or four per cent. at the outside—of men who made their mark instead of signing."

I have no doubt that the same fact would appear from an examination on as large a scale of original documents signed by the Indiana pioneers. I have done a little of that kind of work myself and have found the same result that Mr. Roosevelt did.

Of course, all the schools of the pioneering period were inferior to the schools of to-day. In methods and appliances the schools of the two periods were as wide asunder as the poles, but in results, take it school for school and month for month, I am inclined to think the difference was not so very marked. Dr. Boone, in his "History of Education in Indiana,"* does not, as I remember, discuss this question, but if he did he would hardly agree with me. Nevertheless, the evidence is abundant that the pioneer schoolmasters were, in general, fairly efficient workers in the schoolroom.

However much or little of school training the Indiana pioneers had, of two facts, I think, we may be assured: 1. They differed, as a class, in no respect as to their education, from the pioneer settlers of any other State of that period. 2. The sentiment quite generally prevailed among them, as it did with the people of all other States, of an earnest desire that their children should enjoy far more excellent educational privileges than

*This allusion is to Dr. Boone's MS.

had fallen to their own lot. Or, in other words, they entertained, in common with all the United States people of their day, the American idea of the great value of school training. Of the truth of these two propositions I think there can be no doubt. Dr. Boone, in his history, makes it quite plain that later on in Indiana there came a time when there was a seeming indifference in educational affairs that was not at all creditable to the people of the State, but that charge can not in justice be laid to the door of the first comers. The truth is, that long before any steps had been taken in Massachusetts or New York, or anywhere else in the western world, looking to a free-school system to be supported by the State, Indiana, in her organic law, had made provision for a system of free education, commencing in the township schools and ending in the State University, and but for the great poverty of the people, which rendered the scheme absolutely impracticable, there can be no doubt that there would have been a free-school system in active operation in this State twenty years or more before the first blundering steps were taken toward it in any other State.

If one would take the time for it he might secure quite a varied and extensive assortment of "first schools" in the State. Mr. Randall Yarbrow, who came to Clark county in 1810, said: "What was probably the first school in Indiana was opened in 1811 in Jeffersonville, near the river bank." From a work entitled "Indiana Methodism" I quote: "The first school of any kind in the territory of Indiana was taught one and a half miles south of Charlestown, in 1803." In the summer of 1796 Volney visited Vincennes, and declared that nobody ever opened a school among the French there till it was done by the Abbe R. [Rivet], a missionary banished hither by the French Revolution; and he adds the further statement that "out of nine of the French scarcely six could read or write, whereas nine-tenths of the American emigrants from the east could do both." From the testimony of John Tipton, a capital-site commissioner, we are warranted in believing that a Frenchman taught school in an Indian village, situated on what is now the northwest corner of Johnson county, before M. Rivet's day.*

*For what Tipton says, see Vol. I, No. 1, p. 13, of this magazine.

The first school within the present borders of the State was a French school, probably at Vincennes, and the first Anglo-American school was taught in Clarksville, whose settlement was begun not later than 1785, and probably two or three years before that. At any rate, the place was a "small town" in 1789, and although it was never a place of more than a few log houses, we might safely assume that schools of some sort were provided for the children of the settlement, for this would accord with what I believe to have been the unvarying American practice. After the peace of Greenville, in 1795, the Clark's Grant settlement naturally grew faster than it did before, and in 1800 its population numbered 929. Surely there must have been schools maintained by this time. But we are not left to conjecture merely. From the old records of Clarksville, kept from the first, there are frequent entries relating to the schoolhouses and schoolmasters almost from the very first.

The presumption is next to conclusive that a school was opened in Dearborn county prior to 1802. In the spring of 1796 sixteen families moved across the Big Miami and became the first settlers of Dearborn county. They had settled on the Ohio side of the Miami three years before, and during their three years' sojourn there they organized a school and brought in the first schoolmaster known to that part of the country, one Isaac Polk, who "was known far and near as Master Polk." What these sixteen families who moved on southeastern Indiana soil in the spring of 1796, and who were joined by four or five of the families of the Ohio neighborhood the same year, did in the matter of schools, the muse of history, unfortunately, has not seen fit to say. We are left to conjecture, but with the record made during the three years of their residence in Ohio, we may feel very confident that the year of their moving, or at farthest the following one, marked the advent of the schoolhouse in southern Indiana.

From The News of January 20, 1892.

Without further discussion, we may accept that in general, whenever and wherever a neighborhood contained enough children to warrant the enterprise, a schoolmaster was secured and a school was opened. But it must be remembered that neighbor-

hoods in the early days covered far wider reaches of country than is generally the case now. To that schoolhouse south of Charlestown referred to in the "History of Methodism in Indiana," D. W. Daily, of Clark county, went when a small boy, walking a distance of three miles through the woods. Young Daily's school path, like thousands of others, was not very plain, and was sometimes crossed by wild and savage beasts. His devoted mother, realizing the dangers that beset her boy, went with him part of the way every morning, carrying her youngest born in her arms, and every evening she met him on the way as he returned to his home. One of the first schools taught in Spencer county drew children to it from a distance of four miles in every direction; and it was by no means uncommon for school children to trudge, morning and evening, three and four and even more miles to attend their schools.

In the beginning, houses were not built exclusively for school uses, if an unoccupied cabin or other place was found available for the purpose. The first school taught in Martinsville, certain chroniclers say, was a summer school on a gentleman's porch, by Dr. John Morrison. There are others, however, who insist that the first school was taught in a barn by James Conway. Barns were not infrequently turned into summer schoolhouses during the pioneer educational period. The first school taught in Newburg, Warrick county, was in John Sprinkle's barn, and many other barns were given up during part of the temperate season to the pedagogue and his pupils. Mills were also utilized on occasions. The first school ever taught in the English language in the town of Vevay was by John Wilson, a Baptist minister, in a horse mill. An early school in Waynesville, Bartholomew county, was taught by a retired distiller in a blacksmith shop, which school, for reasons not stated, was attended by young men and boys only. In Spencer county a deserted tannery was utilized. In Knox, in Jackson, and perhaps elsewhere, the old forts, after the close of the Indian wars, were turned into schoolhouses. In the towns of Franklin, Brownstown, and some others, the log court-houses were occupied between courts. In Dubois county Simon Morgan, the county recorder, kept school for many years in the recorder's office. John Godlove,

of Delaware county, taught one of the first schools in the precincts of his own kitchen, while in every county south of the Wabash, and, doubtless, north of it also, abandoned cabins of one kind or another, were quite frequently used for school purposes.*

The appropriating of the mills and the forts, of the barns and old cabins for schools was, however, the exception and not the rule. The rule was that if a house of some kind was not found ready-made when the time for organizing a school came around, those expecting to be its patrons usually made short work of building one. The first were the plainest and cheapest form of log cabin. The neighbors of the Stotts settlement on White river, in Morgan county, began and finished ready for occupancy their schoolhouse in one day. Of course, it was the rudest of log cabins, but it may well be supposed that there were hundreds of not much if any better in Indiana from first to last. I have been told of one such that was built and occupied in White River township, in Jackson county, at a very early day. It was a pole cabin without window, floor or chimney. The fire was kindled on a raised clay platform or hearth in the center, and the sparks and smoke escaped through a large opening in the roof. The children sat on benches next the walls, facing the center, and studied their lessons by the light that came whence the smoke escaped. The house was modeled, evidently, after a hunters' camp. In another part of the same county, a first temple of learning was erected and finished without windows or openings for the light to come in save at the door and the wide throat of the enormous chimney. A similar one was a schoolhouse in Nashville, this State. We usually associate with the primitive schoolhouses the "greased paper windows," but the truth is, "paper glass" marked a step in the process of the evolution of these structures. In the history of Spencer county the statement is made that the first schoolhouses had uncovered openings through which the light entered. There were first schoolhouses elsewhere in the State that were without windows. The paper covering, made translucent by a free use of hog's lard or bear's

*Apropos, it may be mentioned that Hanover College had its beginning in the little three-room residence of Dr. John Finley Crowe. When Mrs. Crowe's domestic duties made it necessary, the class of six boys repaired to the loom-house, a log structure of one room devoted to the family weaving.—*Editor*.

oil, had not yet been thought of, but was to come as an improvement and mark an era in the improvement of schoolhouse architecture. The settlement of Spencer county was begun as early as about 1812, and the statement may well be true, for its earliest-built schoolhouse belonged to the first of the Territory. In Blue River township, Hancock county, the first one was built of logs and had five corners. It was not chinked and daubed, had no windows, and but one door. This must have been as late as 1830. The uncovered openings of the Spencer county houses are suggestive of the portholes in the blockhouses built during the early days as a protection against the Indians. It is a well-known fact that after the final cessation of Indian hostilities the old forts were in some instances converted into schoolhouses, and I find it recorded that a school was taught in 1808 in the dwelling house of John Widner, "which house was almost a fort," having been constructed with special reference to making resistance against attacks of Indians. Indeed, there is direct authority for the statement that schoolhouses were constructed in Washington county with portholes for shooting at the Indians, and if in Washington county, we have good reason to suppose that they were likewise so constructed elsewhere at the same time. I have not come across any record or tradition to show that a cabin full of school children was ever beleaguered in Indiana, or even that the schoolmasters of the State ever at any time carried rifles to their schools with which to defend their scholars in case of attack; but when we remember how very few of the specific acts of a man or of men, which belong to every-day life and are not required by some law to be entered of record, find their way into history books, we can see that schoolmasters may have gone armed to their schools here in Indiana, and the fact remain unknown; and I have no doubt they did.

While the old schoolhouses were, whatever their dimensions, generally rectangular in shape, this was not always true. I find an account of two in Orange county, in Northwest and Southeast townships respectively, that seem to have been five-sided, one end being built "in the shape of a fence corner for a fireplace." This unique style of architecture may have been practiced elsewhere. In fact, a five-cornered schoolhouse was erected in Hancock county as late as 1830.

Can those who attended the old cabin schoolhouses ever forget the total want of everything connected with them that was calculated to cheer and comfort the youngster in his ascent of the hill of knowledge? No attempt, whatever, was ever made by the men who constructed these houses toward beautifying them in any degree, and, judged by the standards of to-day, not much was done with a view to securing the comfort of the children.

The following description of an old time schoolhouse and its furnishings is taken from "Recollections of the Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley," by Sanford C. Cox:

"The schoolhouse was generally a log cabin with puncheon floor, 'cat and clay' chimney, and a part of two logs chopped away on each side of the house for windows, over which greased newspapers or foolscap was pasted to admit the light and keep out the cold. The house was generally furnished with a split [splint] bottom chair for the teacher, and rude benches made out of slabs or puncheons for the children to sit upon, so arranged as to get the benefit of the huge log fire in the winter time, and the light from the windows. To these add a broom, a water-bucket, and a tin cup or gourd, and the furniture list will be complete."

The writer omits one important adjunct, viz., the writing-table or bench, as it was in some schoolhouses not inappropriately called. This usually consisted of a broad board, sawed or sometimes rived, nailed to stout pins driven into holes bored in the logs at a proper slant upward beneath the long window. In the absence of a suitable board, a puncheon hewn to a smooth face, or even a half-log so hewn and mounted upon pins driven into the wall or upon stakes driven into the earth, was made to serve the purpose of a lighter writing table.

It would be a waste of words to point out the squalor and discomfort of the old cabin schoolhouses. Most of us, however, who caught glimpses of learning within their portals in our younger days, think we treasure very tender recollections of them, but I suspect the tender recollections are of the youthful friendships we then formed, and of the surrounding woods and streams that witnessed indulgence in all manner of lawful sports, without a shadow of fear of trespassing on the rights of others.

[To be continued.]

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Proprietor.*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

THE RICHMOND CENTENNIAL.

Just now there is, perhaps, more local history interest in Richmond and Wayne county than in any other part of the State, because of the centennial anniversary of the settlement of that locality. The following brief statement from Mr. Cyrus W. Hodgins, president of the Centennial Association, will give an idea of the movement:

"The first white settlers on the site of Richmond came there in 1806. This year, 1906, is therefore the one hundredth anniversary of the event. At its meeting in November, 1905, the Wayne County Historical Society appointed a committee to consult with the City Council and a number of other organizations concerning an appropriate celebration of the centennial of the beginning of the town. The Council approved, and appointed a cooperating committee. A Centennial Association has been organized, consisting of representatives chosen by nearly one hundred fraternal societies, churches, and literary, charitable and business organizations. A number of standing committees have been appointed to promote various phases of the plan, and the work of preparation for the event is now well under way.

"There will be six days devoted to the celebration, beginning September 11, and closing on Sunday, the 16th. It will be a time of home-coming for former residents, and a program of excellent variety and high character will be presented for the enjoyment of all. Old Richmondites are invited to send for announcements."

From this it will be seen that there is promise of a general awakening in Richmond along this line. Indeed, the editor will personally testify to this, for in a recent visit to "The Queen of all the Hoosier Plain" he found not a few citizens deeply engrossed in the past story of their community, and all available sources are being drawn upon. Old newspaper files are being

hunted up, and the people are urged to ransack their chests and attics in search of papers and relics. The first Richmond directory, published in 1857, contains a history of the place, by John T. Plummer, which, like Ignatius Brown's directory history of Indianapolis, is the one upon which all the subsequent histories have been based. If any one in or out of the county has one of those directories, now is the time to find a market for it. The press, particularly *The Sun-Telegram*, is pushing the movement along with enthusiasm, and will be an effective instrument in promoting popular interest by its publication through the summer of reminiscences and history papers gleaned from old residents and students of the earlier day.

WHAT THEY ARE DOING IN IOWA.

Iowa is one of the States younger than Indiana where they have come to perceive the value of their own history and have taken steps to preserve it. In connection with their State Library they have a Historical Department, and to these are devoted a handsome edifice of imposing proportions. Moreover, from this Historical Department is issued a quarterly historical magazine (*Annals of Iowa*), which is one of the best of its kind published in the country. With the State support back of it, it is enabled to add to its letter-press many illustrations and charts—a very desirable feature which, so far, this magazine has not been able to do, except in a very limited way. A letter to the editor of *Annals*, Mr. Charles Aldrich, relative to the local history interest there, has elicited the following reply:

“Your letter of the 28th ult., came yesterday. You asked me how I started this work. It was simply by giving a boy's autograph collection, and being obliged to come here and see that it was taken care of, where it would otherwise have been utterly wasted. In order to get a case for its reception, I had to ‘hang around’ the capitol some little time at my own expense. It did not seem that I could leave the collection unguarded without danger of its destruction, so I stayed and stayed. A little investigation showed me that the State was doing nothing at that time to preserve the materials of its history, so in a small way I began to ‘beg’ files of newspapers, books, pamphlets and public documents which were out of print, and which were not other-

wise much esteemed, but which contained some of the materials that a State historian would require. I found that Wisconsin had the histories of seventy Iowa counties, while our State Library contained but half that number, with only one dilapidated volume on North American Indians, and on several tribes that had made their homes in what is now Iowa.

"Gradually, these ideas forced themselves upon me, and before I was hardly aware of it, I became a collector. I soon began to receive prehistoric stone implements, arms which were in use in the civil war, specimens of birds and animals, minerals, fossils, ancient implements and furniture, etc., etc. Seeing what I was doing, the Legislature finally gave me the use of three vacant rooms in the basement of the capitol building. Looking back upon those days it seems an incomparably short time until the rooms were filled to overflowing. Then, gradually the idea of a building for this special purpose seemed to be evolved, and matters progressed in the usual way until June 17, 1899, when the cornerstone of the present edifice was laid by Governor Shaw. Since then, our progress has been quite rapid. Our museum has developed until it has become an object of State-wide attraction, not to the people of wealth and to those who travel widely, but to the common people of Iowa.

"If I can do anything further to assist you, it will afford me very great pleasure."

"P. S. I had almost forgotten to mention your admirable magazine. You are doing splendidly and it ought to command support. If you can continue it as you have started, it will be a great help to your other work. In fact, I am of the opinion that our *Annals of Iowa* has done more to develop and expand this work than almost any other instrumentality except the museum. It brings to us exchanges with more than three hundred newspapers and historical magazines, not only throughout the United States, but in foreign countries. It serves to preserve many of the materials of history, and we now have a constant demand for back numbers from schools, colleges and libraries, as well as individuals, all over the country. I have been compelled to reprint several numbers. I think I mentioned your magazine when it was first started, for I have a distinct recollection that it greatly pleased me."

WORK OF THE MONROE COUNTY SOCIETY.

The Monroe County Historical Society, organized but a year ago, has maintained the vigor with which it started out, and in a program recently issued for 1905-1906 we find an admirable showing. The meetings are held monthly throughout the year except August, and at present not less than fifteen papers have been prepared or are promised. Those that have been read are: "Reminiscences of Indiana University Forty Years Ago" (published in Vol. 1, No. 3, of this magazine); "Hon. James Hughes," by Henry C. Duncan; "The History of the Bloomington Water-Works," by Ira C. Batman; "James Parks, Pioneer," by Jonathan W. Ray; "Old Water Mills in Monroe County," by Williamson B. Seward; "My Grandmother Seward's Stories of Pioneer Times," by Miss Margaret McCullough; "Early Elections in Monroe County," by Frank C. Duncan; "Sketch of Dudley Chase Smith, of Vermont," by his son, Dudley F. Smith; "The Rogers Family in Monroe County," by Leonidas D. Rogers; "My Grandmother Elizabeth Grundy Dunn," by Mrs. Elizabeth Dunn Legg.

Those on the program yet to be read are, dates and subjects, as follows:

March 16, "The Bloomington Christian Church," by Amzi Atwater; April 20, "Notes from the Journal of Dr. Theophilus A. Wylie," by Mrs. Louise Wylie Boisen; May 18, "The University in the Later Fifties," by Judge John C. Robinson; June 15, "A Sketch of Austin Seward," by Henry C. Duncan; July 20, "Monroe County Stone Quarries," by Williamson B. Seward.

To quote from the program:

"A number of subjects are in contemplation from which the program for the year 1906-1907 will be made up. Among these are 'The Monon Railroad,' by Mr. Carter Perring; 'The Bloomington Public Schools from the Records of the School Board,' by Mr. W. A. Rawles; 'The Immigration of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to Monroe County,' by Mr. J. A. Woodburn; 'The Old Monroe County Female Seminary,' by Mr. Amzi Atwater; 'The History of Organized Charities in Bloomington,' by Mrs. Minnie B. Waldron; 'Company K, 14th Indiana Volunteers in the Civil War,' by Miss Mary Kelly; 'The Beginnings of the City Hospital,' by Mrs. Maude Showers.

"The society hopes to secure in time, a history of each religious denomination in the county and of individual congregations. It seeks the cooperation of clerks of sessions and of congregational secretaries and pastors to this end.

"It is the intention of the society to preserve typewritten copies of all the papers read before the society, to be bound in annual volumes.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

POST VINCENNES—A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE RELATING TO ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

A pamphlet of some fifteen or twenty thousand words bearing this title has recently been issued by F. A. Myers, of Evansville. As the sub-title implies, it is a study in the sources that touch upon the old post, and particularly upon the date of its establishment. There is ample evidence in the text that the study has been searching and painstaking, and it has much collateral information that is of interest. Just what it adds to the subject only an expert could tell. We frankly confess ourselves somewhat stupid in the attempt to get at the merits of this particular kind of a question. The date of the establishment of Vincennes is involved in much haze, and the probabilities are that it will never be less hazy. The evidence at best but affords grounds for surmise, and the surmising varies with the ingenuity of the investigator, just as, in the contentions that spring up, the most ingenious reasoner triumphs quite regardless, perhaps, of the actual facts in the case. Mr. Myers takes vigorous exceptions to certain conclusions of Mr. J. P. Dunn on this subject, but we think he might have presented a clearer summary of his own argument, the exact scope of which is uncertain on a casual reading. The pamphlet, nevertheless, we repeat, is a careful and lengthy study of the question from such data as exist, and as such should be in the collection of every one who is gathering Indiana material. The author's address is 724 Upper Third street, Evansville, Ind.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES. There is much, in fact, a surprising amount, of valuable history material being continually published by the local papers throughout the State. Very often this is

not preserved, even by the publishing papers, and in a short time passes into utter oblivion. We shall be glad to receive for notice in these pages any articles of note that have been so published, either recently or at any previous period. Some have been received and we here give them space.

The True Site of Fort Knox, by Dr. Hubbard M. Smith, in the *Sunday Commercial*, of Vincennes, January 7, 1906. In this article Dr. Smith proves by good documentary evidence that Fort Knox (the American fort in that locality that succeeded to Fort Sackville) was located at Vincennes, about two hundred yards below the present foot of Hart street. It has been generally believed that this fort stood at a point some three miles up the river, but Mr. Smith makes it tolerably clear that the establishment located there was not the fort, but a garrison, and that there has arisen a confusion respecting the two. He makes an appeal to the Daughters of the Revolution to place a marker at this site, as they have already marked old Fort Sackville.

The George Lay Raid, a series of ten papers by John T. Campbell, in the *Rockville Republican*, May 9 to July 11, 1894. This series makes an interesting chapter in our civil war history and recounts Mr. Campbell's experiences as an officer with the disaffected element in Parke county. The articles give a graphic idea of the spirit of the times and the serious proportions of organized rebellion in that locality. Some of these papers, we believe, may still be procured. Mr. Campbell's address is The Soldiers' Home, Lafayette.

The Unnamed Anti-Slavery Heroes of Old Newport, by Dr. O. N. Huff, in the *Richmond Sun-Telegram*, December 25, 1905. This rather lengthy paper is a valuable contribution to the anti-slavery history of Wayne county, in that it preserves a record of the names and services of active workers in that cause who have received little or no credit in the histories previously written. There is quite a list of these names, and the part some of them played makes an interesting story.

The New Harmony Papers. The *New Harmony Times* is doing a good work by giving to the public documentary material from the rich collection in the New Harmony Library. The journals of William Owen and William Pelham, from the original manuscripts, have been running for some months, and the reminis-

cences of the late Victor Duclos have been recently begun. All of these papers deal with the famous Rappite and Owen communities and have a far more than local interest. The Duclos articles will be followed by a diary of James Bennett, who went to California across the plains in 1849, and Mr. Wolfe, the editor, promises that it will offer "a rare addition to the information that has been left of the once unknown West."

The Genesis of Methodism in Richmond, by the Rev. O. S. Harrison, in the *Sun-Telegram*, February 14, 1906, is, as the title implies, a local contribution to the history of the State, and as such will be of interest to the student of that subject.

Edward Swanson, the romantic story of a strange character who was hanged for murder in Rushville, in 1829—a series of articles by Dr. John Arnold, in the *Rushville Graphic*, in August and September, 1897. These papers contain considerable lore of Rush county. Dr. Arnold also published a series of "Reminiscences" in the *Rushville Republican*, beginning January, 1875.

INDIAN MOUNDS IN DE KALB COUNTY.

Editor the Indiana Magazine of History:—

References in the December number of the INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, to the old Indiana Torture Stake near Muncie, have suggested to me an explanation of a discovery made by me while examining some of the mounds in DeKalb county. I examined a great many of these mounds. Most of them contained human bones, fragments of pottery, and an occasional arrow-head, stone hammer, or stone flesher.

Two of these mounds were on the bank of Cedar creek, about one-half mile northwest of Waterloo. Large trees were growing around them, and quite a large tree grew about in the center of one of them,—the smaller of the two. The large mound was about twelve feet in diameter, and about four and one-half or five feet in height. It contained the skeleton of one person, apparently buried in a sitting posture. The other contained the remains of a number of persons. The bodies had apparently been placed in a heap on the ground, and covered with earth. Fractures of some of the skulls indicated violent deaths. Above the earth covering the bodies was a layer of stone and over this more earth and a thick layer of charcoal mingled with charred

fragments of human bones. At that time, after a careful examination, I concluded that these mounds marked the site of a battle; that the victors of those left in possession of the field had made these mounds the burial place of their dead, and had burned the bodies of their dead enemies on the mound above them. The description of the old torture stake at Muncie suggests that instead of the bodies of their dead enemies, they may have burned living victims.

Very respectfully,

ROBERT W. MCBRIDE.

Indianapolis, January 10, 1906.

STATE TEACHERS' HISTORY SECTION.

The ninth annual meeting of the History Section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association will meet at the Claypool Hotel, in Indianapolis, on Friday and Saturday, April 27 and 28, 1906. Following is the program:

FRIDAY, 2:00 P. M.—Report of committee on local history, C. W. Hodgin, chairman; discussion opened by Prof. W. S. Davis, Richmond High School (Professor Davis is chairman of the History Committee of the Richmond Centennial Association, and will show what may be done, by what Richmond is preparing for her Centennial next September); report of committee on history in the grades, Prof. E. W. Kemp, chairman; general discussion; appointment of committees.

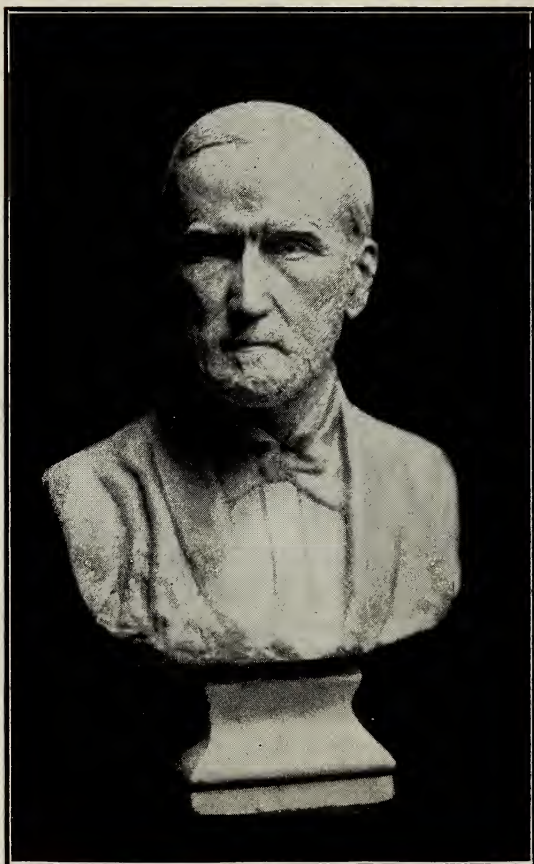
6:00 P. M.—Dine together at the Claypool.

8:00 P. M.—Joint session of the History Section and the Indiana Historical Society; paper, "Making a Capital in the Wilderness," by Judge Daniel Waite Howe, president of the Historical Society; talk, "Work of the Historical Society," by Hon. J. P. Dunn, its secretary; talk, "Aims of the History Section, and Possible Ways of Cooperation Between the Two Societies," by Dr. James A. Woodburn; general discussion.

SATURDAY, 9:00 A. M. Address, "An Experiment with History in the Grades," by Prof. Henry Johnson, of the Eastern Illinois State Normal School; general discussion; address, "Evolution of the Present Wave of Reform," by Hon. L. B. Swift; election of officers; miscellaneous business.

Headquarters at the Claypool, which furnishes free Assembly Room, and offers a \$2.50 rate, two in a room; \$3.00, one in a room.

All teachers of history and related subjects are cordially invited to participate in the pleasure and profit of all the sessions.



GEORGE W. JULIAN, 1817-1899

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. II

JUNE, 1906

No. 2

GEORGE W. JULIAN: SOME IMPRESSIONS.

BY HIS DAUGHTER, MRS. GRACE JULIAN CLARKE.

"The dear and good paternal image."

—DANTE.

OF my father's political career I could have no knowledge at first hand, because it was mainly finished before I was old enough to remember. I knew him only as an old man and a semi-invalid; but these two facts, coupled with the sudden death of my mother in 1884, brought me into very close and intimate relations with him. And it is my conviction that his public services, valuable and disinterested as they were, were yet not so remarkable as was the man himself, which prompts me to give to his friends this little sketch of my father as he appeared to me, supplemented by a few facts gathered from him and from others.

Life was truly a boon to him, increasing in value with the years. It was, moreover, a momentous reality, an experience not to be idly or carelessly passed through, but a privilege into which should be crowded as much of useful achievement as possible. It was not mere existence that he loved. Activity was his delight, and he fretted under enforced idleness. He dreaded unspeakably the loss of his faculties, and during the last few years the words of John Quincy Adams about his "shaking hand, darkening eye and drowsy brain" seemed to possess new meaning for him. Ever on the alert for signs of failing mental power, he was a severe task-master to himself, for he believed that he could at least hinder the ravages of time by keeping his mind employed. It is probable that the final catastrophe was precipitated by the continuous strain, during excessively warm weather, occasioned in the preparation of a book review for *The Dial*. This meant double work for the brain grown sluggish with age and supported by an increasingly feeble body.

Although stinted in sleep for more than thirty years, and

bowed down by growing infirmities, my father manifested a certain pugnacity in facing distressing conditions that not only made them bearable, but lent a sort of color to life. It was not a part of his philosophy to ignore evil and unfortunate circumstances, as it has become fashionable nowadays to do, but rather to face them in all their might and ugliness, and then set to work to overcome them. Among the lines that he repeated oftenest were these from Browning's *Easter Day*:

“And so I live, you see,
Go through the world, try, prove, reject,
Prefer, still striving to effect
My warfare; happy that I can
Be crossed and thwarted as a man,
Not left in God's contempt apart,
With ghastly smooth life, dead at heart,”

When attacked by the *grippe*, which occurred quite regularly during the last few years, he would keep his room at first with rather a bad grace, for he loved to be down among his books, where he could see people; but presently, having become adjusted to the situation, he would set himself to pointing out its pleasant features—the east and south windows, the open fire, the pictures on the walls,—pictures of the capitol and of the Thirty-first Congress, of Horace Greeley, Thaddeus Stevens and others. Sunshine was a perpetual delight to him, and the fleeting glory of the dawn was worth a great effort to behold. Once, when he was recovering from pneumonia, I was shocked and a bit provoked, on going into his room very early in the morning, to find him standing at the window gazing out, although it was quite cold and he was not dressed; but he won forgiveness by hurrying back to bed, saying gaily: “I *had* to get up to see ‘jocund day standing tiptoe upon the misty mountain tops!’” The branches of the maples as they swayed to and fro outside his window spoke a language very sweet and quieting, and the birds were a constant source of pleasure to him. The sight of a storm seemed to fascinate him, and he would go from one room to another to get new views of it, his face wearing a look of mingled awe and delight. The twilight hour was a precious time; he liked then to have a loved one beside him, by the fire in winter and under the trees in summer, and to sit in

silent meditation, or repeating poetry, or talking of the day's doings and the morrow's plans. Always a great walker, he rather prided himself on his three miles a day at eighty, and his figure was a familiar one in all parts of the village. But although "the old perfections of the earth" appealed to him more and more with the passing years, they never took the place of human society. "What should we do without people?" he murmured, gazing out at neighbors passing by, on the day before he laid him down for the last time. Unfailing courage, and ever-fresh enjoyment of nature and of the varying phases of human experience, were among his most pronounced characteristics.

Children came very close to him, and he had the art of entertaining them without apparent effort. He had a fund of bear stories, and there was a favorite tale about Captain Scott and the Coons. General Putnam and the Wolf was another thrilling recital. In relating these there was more or less dramatic accessory, and when the gun went off, "she-bang!" was always the climax.

Whatever my father did he put his whole heart into. He worked impetuously and indefatigably, and he played as he worked. In his youth he had enjoyed the game of Town Ball, and his special delight always as a recreation from intellectual labor was to toss a rubber ball against the house, keeping it on the bound sometimes ten or fifteen hundred times. The games of Base, and Hide and Seek, and Blind Man's Buff were also favorites; but it was largely his own enthusiasm and the abandon with which he entered into them that made them fascinating. This it was that made his society so engaging,—the enthusiasm he felt for people and things, coupled with an air of wisdom, as of one having a horizon much wider than the average, every-day horizon.

His opinions were uttered with a freedom and spontaneity that were refreshing, and yet with a seriousness and tone of authority that were the fruit of deep thinking and long experience. It was Miss Catharine Merrill, for fifty years a teacher of English, who said that he talked in such complete sentences that they had the quality of literature. I believe he never spoke without previous thought.

In all his talk there was a deep religious vein, a spirit of faith

in the Eternal Goodness, that was tonic in effect. In his article entitled "A Search After Truth" he called himself a Theist, and expressed his belief in personal immortality on the strength of the human affections and because he could not think that "the unappeasable hunger of the soul for so priceless a blessing was implanted to be ungratified." He believed in the simple humanity of Jesus and in the renovating and ever-uplifting power of his life and teachings in raising the world to higher and yet higher conditions. The life and sufferings of the Nazarene were habitually in his thoughts, and the story of the crucifixion always brought tears to his eyes. Perhaps the most touching and terrible passage in literature, to him, was the sentence, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This picture of awful agony and utter loneliness was one not to be dwelt on, that yet laid hold of the heart and imagination.

Reverence was a marked characteristic of my father—reverence for God, and Truth, and Duty. He was a good deal of a hero-worshiper, too, and certain names were always spoken with tender regard and a glow of pride. Among these were Plato, Dante, Bruno, Milton, Mazzini. But all his heroes did not belong to the past. He had numerous idols among the men of his own time. Over the mantel in his library hung portraits of William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson, saint, reformer and seer, as he called them. It was not his privilege to have known John Quincy Adams, the latter having died the year before my father entered Congress. But Mr. Adams's character impressed him as few others did, and he was almost as familiar with his career as with the alphabet. Charles Sumner was another statesman of Abdiel-like proportions, whose greatness seemed to tower higher with the receding years.

Deference to old people was a trait always observed in my father,—so I am told by his surviving cousins. The loneliness of the aged, even in the most favored conditions, appealed to him; and the sight of age coupled with want caused him a pang only equaled perhaps by the spectacle of a mind in ruins. To see one whom he had known in the vigor of manhood fallen into a condition of mental decay was not only unspeakably sad, but it seemed to fill him with a sort of awe.

My father was fond of the theater, particularly in middle life, when he went as a relaxation from the work and worry connected with the war period. Joseph Jefferson as Rip Van Winkle he went to see annually, if possible, and he liked to repeat Rip's farewell as he departed in the storm, and his beseeching words to his new-made friends in the mountains: "Boys, do not leave me." The elder Sothern as Lord Dundreary pleased him infinitely, and he imitated to perfection the puzzled look of Dundreary when the latter attempted to repeat proverbs. The funny little hop, or skip, that was also characteristic of Sothern in this part, he could rehearse capitally, and did so during the last weeks of his life. The Booths, father and son, and Fanny Kemble, were favorites. Edwin Forrest as King Lear he never missed an opportunity of seeing, and I think he felt real pity for the man or woman who had never heard Forrest's tone when he called on the dead Cordelia to "stay a little." To the end of his life he spoke with enthusiastic delight of Jenny Lind and Christine Nilsson. He had not what is called a cultivated ear, his taste being for simple things, especially for the Scotch ballads. His voice was sweet and melodious, and he sang almost every day. Sometimes it was a hymn that he had learned in childhood, but more often it was one of Burns's songs,—the Banks o' Doon, Auld Lang Syne, or Highland Mary; and his voice rang out with peculiar fervor to the thrilling strains of Bannockburn.

In his youth he had committed to memory a great deal of poetry, and this he retained in large measure to the last, while he regularly added to his stock from the good things that appeared from time to time. As he lay awake at night he would repeat page after page of *Paradise Lost*, and occasionally some fragment that he had learned some fifty or sixty years before would come floating across his memory, called from its hiding place none knew how. Until within the last fifteen years, if asked who was his favorite poet after Shakespeare and Milton, he would probably have said Tennyson; but about 1885 he became interested in the poetry of Robert Browning, from which he derived great pleasure, and he repeated more of Browning, I think, than of Tennyson thereafter. "In Memoriam" remained without a rival in his regard, but there was a certain strength, a tone of courage, about much of Browning's work that touched in him a responsive chord.

He had a peculiar regard for books. They almost seemed to possess sentient life, and he could not endure to see them tumbled about carelessly. In the primitive society of his young days books were very rare and precious, and he never ceased to regard them in that light. He cared greatly for philosophy, history, biography, and sermons of men like Martineau and Channing. Novels he knew little about, and he used to say that his early education along this line had been neglected; but I fancy he did not realize how vast and important was the field from which he was thus excluded. He had, of course, read certain classics, such as *Tristram Shandy*, *Don Quixote*, *Les Misérables*, *Consuelo*, and a number of George Eliot's, and he did not forget them, as habitual fiction readers do.

With his tall figure, which attracted attention wherever he went, there was a remarkable dignity of mein, and also a frankness of manner that, as was said of Uncle Toby, "let you at once into his soul." Like Uncle Toby, too, there was something about him, at least in later life, that seemed to make a special appeal to the unfortunate and unhappy. I often regretted this, because it added to the burdens on his heart. People used to come to him for counsel and advice on all sorts of topics, even those who did not know him well, feeling instinctively his friendly spirit. Perhaps one reason for this was his manifest sincerity and earnestness. He had no patience with vain, silly people, and when they endeavored to talk with him, it was apt to be a very one-sided affair, for his part of the conversation consisted largely of monosyllables and grunts. But he always sought to introduce higher and worthier themes than the ordinary chit-chat. He often read to a caller an extract from a book he was perusing, or something timely from a magazine or newspaper. He never made people feel small; he was too kindly and gracious for that. There was, however, a reserve about him that made him appear austere and unbending to those who did not really know him. This was chiefly due to a native shyness that he never outgrew,—a timidity against which he always struggled, but which was, in fact, one of his most winning qualities.

In his prime his hair and beard were black, but they began to whiten rather early. His eyes were hazel, remarkably clear, and they retained their *young* look to the very last. His smile

was the most unclouded I have ever seen, beginning with the eyes, and then all at once suffusing the whole face with sunshine.

A more agreeable household companion than my father it is impossible for me to imagine. There was a bird in his bosom whose song could not be quenched. Pain and sorrow did sometimes silence it, but not for long. He had that attribute commonly possessed by the young, the ability to lose himself in a ray of fancy at any moment. He took great delight in words, and the dictionary was consulted many times every day, up to the last three or four days of his life. He had a fashion of applying a great variety of proper names to me, and when I entered his room each morning I was playfully addressed by a different appellation,—almost any name, from "Pio Nono" down to that of the Washington printer who used to print his speeches and whose un-euphonious patronym was "Pokenhorn." The numerous little attentions which his weakness rendered necessary were always kept from being irksome by the relation of an amusing anecdote or reminiscence. Sometimes he would imitate the tone and manner of Henry Clay as he addressed the Senate, or of an old Virginia planter whom he had once known; again, he would be Hamlet, or Lear, or one of Milton's devils. It was something different each time, so that there was the temptation frequently to prolong the task for the sake of the entertainment.

His sense of humor was of the keenest, and his laugh was hearty and contagious. As he grew older, people became more and more attentive to him, and he was sometimes much entertained by the superlative exertions of street-car conductors and other kind persons who evidently thought him even more frail than he really was. The old gentleman up at Catawba Island who carefully lifted his foot for him when he was about to step aboard the boat was never forgotten, and the laugh occasioned by that performance betokened no lack of gratitude for the intended service.

He was everywhere a favorite with servants, because he endeavored to make as little trouble as possible and never omitted a "Thank you" or a word of appreciation where it was due. The maid who waited upon him at breakfast was as sure of a cheery "Good-morning" as was the guest who sat at table. His tastes in the matter of food were simple in the extreme, bread and

milk forming the basis of each meal. He never used tobacco, and while not pledged to total abstinence as to spirituous liquors, his use of them was almost wholly medicinal. Coming of a Quaker ancestry, all display of whatever sort was distasteful to him, and to be in debt was a condition he could not endure. I think he was peculiarly free from little eccentricities, such as characterize many old people, a sound common-sense being one of his chief endowments.

Laundresses were the objects of his particular consideration and pity, and although very fastidious about his wearing apparel, I believe he never threw aside a garment without a sigh at thought of the work he was making necessary. He liked to listen to the sound as the clothes were rubbed up and down in the tub; it carried him back to the days when his mother did the washing for her little family.

His father died when he was too young to have really known him, and with his strong affections he lavished a double love upon the parent who was left to bear the burden of life alone. His face glowed with filial pride when he spoke of her struggles and sacrifices, and I am sure that one of the chief pleasures of his life was the satisfaction she took in his success. His first great sorrow was on the occasion of the death of John M. Julian, the gifted brother whose early taking-off cast a shadow that never vanished from my father's path. His own immediate family was four times visited by death, in the loss of his first wife and two children and of my mother. I saw him in one of these bereavements, and the unselfish heroism of his attitude was a lesson for a lifetime. He liked sometimes to talk to a sympathetic listener of the loved ones gone, and so I came to know very well his brother so long lost, and the wife of his youth, as he called her; and it is hard to realize that I never actually saw "Louie," the little son who died when only nine years old, so habitually was he in my father's thoughts and conversation. With his large heart and sensitive nature he felt keenly the sorrows of others, and his words of condolence were always fitting and full of meaning.

It was his custom to take note of anniversaries. The 19th of April, the 17th of June, and such dates were always observed in some way. Anniversaries of events in his own life he would also

call attention to, as, for instance: "My child, sixty years ago to-day my brother John died," and then he would talk of his brother's character, or describe his appearance. Again he would say: "Fifty years ago to-day I was first married," and he would go on and tell about the wedding,—how "Father Hoshour" officiated, how his girl wife looked, in her white frock, and how, of the gay company then assembled, all but two or three had passed to the Great Beyond.

It has been said, and I think truly, that a man's relations to woman, how he regards her and how he acts toward her, are the most significant things about him. My father certainly drew to him good women wherever he went, and his "five hundred lovers" were the subject of inexhaustible raillery on the part of my mother, who thoroughly enjoyed this side of his make-up. It was no show of gallantry on his part that won the favor of the other sex; but there was about him a certain indefinable air of goodness, together with the artlessness of a child, and an ever-ready and boundless sympathy or fellow-feeling, that appealed at once to some men, but more often to the finer intuitions of women. One of these friends writes: "I can never forget the *culture tone* that characterized him as one met him in society and in his home,—the absolute lack of that coarseness that is so much a part of our modern politician. Without knowing his history, I could as easily have said that he was a poet or *litterateur*." His daughter's friends felt for him a genuine affection, and he was seldom too absorbed in any task to stop and chat with them. "He seemed so much more than father," said one of them; "no, not that, but *all* that a father could be—the fullness of fatherhood."

His ideal of womanhood was the highest; yet it was not sentimentally rose-colored. He was fortunate in being all his life associated with high-minded, self-reliant, gentle woman, and it was this association, reinforcing his own best judgment, that early convinced him of the right and duty of woman to share equally with man in the civil and political life of society. He carried on a most interesting correspondence with Lydia Maria Child, chiefly on political topics, during the years from 1862 to 1878. He was a great admirer of Lucretia Mott, seeking her council in early manhood and enjoying her friendship until her

death in 1880. Besides these well-known names, there was a long list of women friends with whom he was on terms of delightful intimacy and comradeship. He liked to make social calls, and this was a practice kept up till the last, especially in his own neighborhood.

A word in regard to the two women most closely associated with my father. He was first married at the age of twenty-eight to Miss Anne E. Finch, who was ten years younger. She is said to have been very beautiful, of the blond type, gay and impulsive in disposition, with a certain shy winsomeness that made for her friends wherever she went. She was thoroughly interested in public affairs, and accompanied him to Washington during his first term in Congress, where she enjoyed meeting and hearing the great men of the day. She died of consumption in 1860. It is interesting to note that the friend to whom my father turned most frequently in his sorrow was Mr. Giddings of Ohio (whose daughter was afterwards to become his wife)—“Father Giddings,” as he always called him, between whom and himself there was a strong bond of sympathy dating from their first meeting, at the Buffalo Convention of 1848. Giddings was a believer in spiritualism, and he tried to enlist my father in this, to him, satisfying and comforting faith. He had known and admired Mrs. Julian, and hence he felt a certain near and personal interest in the case. But my father was so constituted that it was impossible for him to accept anything bordering on the mystical and supernatural, his practical mind instinctively turning away from the “twilights of thought” to the clear sunshine of reason, and resting in an abiding trust that steadily grew throughout the years. In regard to the various so-called demonstrations of spiritual mediums, I have heard him quote Emerson’s words: “Shun them as you would the secrets of the undertaker and the butcher. * * * The whole world is an omen and a sign. Why look so wistfully in a corner? Man is the image of God. Why run after a ghost or a dream?”

His consolation had to come through the softening effect of time and by plunging with all his might into the duties of his public position. The war was coming on, and he gave his days and nights to Congressional labors. One thing he never learned,

and that was to work in moderation. It was during these years that he laid the foundation for the sleeplessness and other maladies that pursued him to the end of his days. From scrap-books I find that newspapers began to note his break-down in 1865, and soon afterwards he entered upon those persistent and weary efforts to repair his once hardy and robust constitution.

A little more than three years after the death of his first wife he was married to Miss Laura A. Giddings, whom he met for the first time in 1862 in Washington. She was the youngest daughter of his old friend, and was twenty-two years my father's junior. But there did not seem so great a disparity of age, because my mother was very tall and had a marked dignity of bearing. This at once impressed everyone who met her,—a stateliness that was as native to her as the air she breathed, but that seemed somehow to set her apart from all other women. She had dark eyes and hair, her face being one that depended largely for its beauty on the play of expression. She had been educated at Oberlin and Antioch Colleges, and had spent a number of seasons with her father in Washington and Montreal, thus receiving a training in political affairs that was quite unusual at that time among women. On account of her father's ill health she had also learned to look after his physical comfort and to save his strength in all possible ways. This tender care she transferred to her husband, and for twenty years was his constant companion and his trusted advisor on all questions, public and private. She read to him, wrote at his dictation, looked up authorities, and was completely a part of himself. Like my father, she cared greatly for society, and the deafness that came upon her within the last ten years of her life was a severe trial. But her husband's gifts as a reporter went far to atone for what she had thus missed, and his efforts along this line were richly rewarded by her manifest delight in the narrations. She died, as her father had done, of *angina pectoris*, which came without any warning.

As a public speaker, my father had the advantage of a full, rich voice and a remarkable flow of language. He spoke slowly, with little gesture, but always earnestly. He never ranted, his style and manner being those of familiar, friendly conversation. The logical faculty was well developed in him,

and all who have described his speaking bear witness to his mastery of the weapons of irony, sarcasm and invective, as well as a certain sly humor that was quite irresistible. This last is the quality that most impressed me as I listened to him during three presidential campaigns,—humor, and an air as if he were talking with friends at the fireside. In reading his speeches I think one would infer his familiarity with the Bible, Milton and Carlyle, his style somehow suggesting these models.

His last sure grasp of things was on Wednesday, July 5, 1899, when he was about the house as usual, only seeming very tired and lying down a great deal. The next day he did not leave his bed, and on Friday, the 7th, at a few minutes before eleven he breathed his last, his age being eighty-two years, two months and two days. Death came to him not unkindly, but as a friend whom he welcomed. In his rambling talk the day before, his mind had rapidly gone over his whole life,—the early years on his mother's farm, political conditions in the old Burnt District, the war and reconstruction, etc. He frequently spoke of the beautiful day, and asked if I were "a spirit from another world." About noon, as he lay looking at me, I began to repeat a favorite verse from Browning's *Earth's Immortalities*:

"So, the year's done with!
(Love me forever!)
All March begun with,
April's endeavor;
May-wreaths that bound me
June needs must sever!
Now snows fall round me,
Quenching June's fever—
(Love me forever!)"

He gave the alternate lines, joining in faintly with the "forever" at the close. He became quite unconscious towards evening, and remained so till the end, when a look of recognition came into his eyes and he was gone.

At the funeral, three days later, he lay on the library couch, as friends were wont to see him, and there was naught to indicate anything unusual but the flowers that were everywhere, and the stillness. Frederic E. Dewhurst, of Plymouth Church, Indianapolis, spoke briefly and fittingly of his life and character,

and two hymns, "Nearer, My God, to Thee," and Chadwick's "Song of the Silent Ones," were rendered. It was regretted that Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago, who had been invited to assist in the services, was unable to come.

The actual presence of death has an impressiveness all its own. But the hush that fell upon us when we realized that his spirit had departed was sweetened with gratitude, not only for the long and dedicated life, but for the manner of its close. After a full, rich day, the sunset was unclouded. One of the saddest spectacles, my father thought, was that of an aged man whose work was finished, lingering on and longing for release. In 1890 Stephen S. Harding, then eighty-three and blind for years, wrote him a most pathetic letter, which he closed as follows: "When you hear of my demise, which will be before long, strike hands with some old friend and thank God it is all over!" So we were grateful that in his case the summons came in the midst of activity and congenial surroundings, when life, though complete, had not lost its relish. But it is not strange, so tireless and irrepressible was his spirit, that to those who loved him the idea of death is lost sight of in the thought of continuing growth and development. As Emerson said of his brother, "I read now his pages, I remember all his words and motives, without any pang, so healthy and human a life it was."

MR. JULIAN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

The subject of the foregoing "Impressions" left in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Clark, a manuscript autobiography which affords some intimate glimpses of an interesting career. Mr. Julian's progress from the humblest estate to eminence by the sheer force of a conquering will and strong personality makes a life story that is inspiring and stimulating. When he was about six years old his father died and his mother was left, all but penniless, with a family of children to provide for. The autobiography describes the battle of life at this period as a battle *for* life. The family wrung such support as they could out of a barren farm. They wove their own cloth for the home-made garments and eked out their slender income by weaving for the neighbors, while the boys occupied the rainy days weaving straw hats. In the spring the sugar grove was made to yield sweets for their table and as much additional revenue as possible.

In such a life there was little to foster an interest in books, and small chance to gratify such an interest if aroused. Nevertheless, the interest was nourished in this family,* and the divine spark found fuel to feed upon. The MS. tells us how young George raised his first funds for the indulgence of a growing passion. "I gathered each year," it says, "a large crop of walnuts—one fall as many as sixteen bushels—and sold the hulls at Nathan Bond's carding and fulling mills, at six cents per bushel, for money with which to buy books and stationery." He attended the country school of winters, and though he speaks of himself as an unpromising dullard, yet by virtue of a "dogged perseverance" he applied himself to his studies with an assiduity that soon brought him abreast of his teachers. "I renounced," he says, "the society of my playmates and gave myself wholly to my books. My Sundays were especially set apart for study, and I was up till a late hour in the night poring over my tasks

*It should be noted that these aspirations were not confined to George. John, the eldest brother, evinced unusual endowments; Jacob became a jurist, and Isaac, still living, a journalist and writer of both prose and verse.

by the light of a fire kept up by 'kindlings,' which I regularly prepared as a substitute for the candles we could not afford."

At the age of eighteen he taught school, and was, doubtless, far more proficient than the average country teacher of that day. Having no instructor, he studied by himself, as best he could, rhetoric and logic, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, mathematics and surveying, and seems to have made considerable progress in these abstruse branches. A list of his general reading, also, reveals the solidity of his acquirements. Among those enumerated are: Russell's History of Modern Europe, Hume's History of England, Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Goldsmith's histories of Greece and Rome, Plutarch's Lives, the English poets, Locke's Essays, Abercrombie on the Intellectual Powers, Watts on the Mind, Combe on the Constitution of Man, Dr. Spurzheim's works on phrenology and education, Paine's political works, Godwin's Political Justice, Sterne's works, Don Quixote, Fielding's novels, Ossian's poems, etc.

Mr. Julian repeatedly speaks of an abnormal timorousness and self-distrust that seemed an almost insuperable obstacle to his advancement. The assertiveness and efficiency as a public speaker that distinguished him in later years was acquired only by the most rigorous training and persistent self-conquest. When, by the advice of a friend, he turned to the study of law, it was with so little faith that he pursued his reading secretly and half ashamed. To pass an examination and secure a license to practice was the easiest part. In the assurance necessary to the young lawyer he was utterly lacking. By way of cultivating it he hung about the courts at Centerville, trying to familiarize himself with the customs of the profession, and a little later on, after he had removed to Greenfield, he tells of a "dark lyceum"—an altogether novel institution consisting solely of himself and one other bashful young man who sought to engender courage by making speeches at each other, which forensic efforts were carried on in a dark room so as to reduce the embarrassment. By way of adding dignity and impressiveness to these meetings they were presided over by a "premier," whose duty it was to "preserve order and decide the debated questions." Each speaker, after his turn on the floor, would become the

premier and let the other descend from the chair and make his argument. The progress attained by these half ludicrous, half pathetic and wholly earnest efforts was so slight that the autobiographer is moved to speak of it as "all in vain," and he adds: "Sometimes, in my despair, I felt that I must break the chains which bound me, but I was powerless to do so, and no word of encouragement from any quarter cheered me. If I had had a single trusted friend to say to me, 'Be of courage; fear not; you can conquer,' it would have lifted a great weight from my heart and opened the pathway to my deliverance."

His first case in court is described by Mr. Julian. "It was tried," he says, "before a country justice of the peace, and N. W. Miner, of Dublin, was the opposing counsel. We were both frightened as if panic-stricken, and it now seems to me so ridiculous that I almost doubt my own recollection. The justice was a good-natured old farmer who knew less law than either of us and whose judgment of our rhetoric was quite indifferent. The amount involved was only a few dollars, and in no case could there be serious consequences to body or soul; and yet, in opening our case and making our speeches we fairly quaked with nervous fear."

Mr. Julian's career, from his entrance into politics, in 1840, is traced in his published volume, "Political Recollections." The autobiography, dealing with personal matters prior to that date, is chiefly valuable as a record of a self-made man, and as showing how such a man, gifted with native force and strong will, can, in the face of many handicaps, hew his way grimly to a place in the front ranks. Dealing with the development of a man who accomplished things, it has the germaine biographical value, and if published (especially if edited with reference to matter already published) would make a desirable addition to the biographical literature of the State.

G. S. C.

EARLY INDIANAPOLIS.

THE FLETCHER PAPERS—SECOND INSTALMENT.

The First Wedding Celebration and the First "Poem"—The First Campaign: Whitewater vs. Kentucky—Numerous Candidates—First Political Pamphlets and "Handbills"—Voting Precincts—Election and Successful Candidates—Citizens' Resolutions Against Campaign Methods.

From the Indianapolis News of April 19, 1879.

THE earliest marriage in or around Indianapolis was undoubtedly that of Jeremiah Johnson and Miss Jane Reagan, which took place early in 1821. In this case Johnson walked all the way to Connersville and back—about 120 miles—for his license, and then the lovers had to wait weary weeks before the first clergyman (Rev. Mr. McClung) came along. The second marriage has been more fully recorded. One of the early settlers here was Mr. Thomas Chinn, from Virginia, who was the first person that imported blooded stock into Indianapolis. All the old boys will recall his fine stallion, "Black Hawk," and his gigantic bull, "Walk-in-the-Water." Mr. Chinn built him a log cabin on the bank of Pogue's Run, on what was afterward called "Noble's pasture." That log cabin, with its great split puncheon floor, I remember was still standing, though uninhabited, in 1834. Now, Mr. Chinn had a smart, bright-eyed daughter, named Patsy. One of the young men who came to settle in Indianapolis was Uriah Gates. He and Miss Patsy soon found that their "hearts beat as one," and on the 22d of January, 1822, the second wedding in Indianapolis came off, Justice McIlvain tying the nuptial knot. The town was so small that everybody was invited. My mother in her journal says:

"Tuesday, January 22, 1822. Mr. Gates was to-day wedded to Miss Patsy Chinn, both of Indianapolis. I attended the wedding. It was a very disagreeable day, but notwithstanding there was a great concourse of people present. Wednesday, 23d, I attended a party at Mr. Reagan's, for Mr. R. gave the newly-

married couple an infare. We danced until ten o'clock, and then came home." This wedding was described to me by my father as a great affair. There was plenty to eat and drink, and what the French call the *piece de resistance* consisted of a good-sized porker roasted whole, mounted on the table with a large apple in its mouth.* The first copy of the *Indianapolis Gazette* appeared January 28, 1822, and contains the wedding announcement and an original poem written for the occasion. [See note at end of this instalment.]

From the News of April 26.

At the first election in Indianapolis there was an army of office-seekers. That they began skirmishing a long time in advance can be seen by the account which I gave of the Christmas of 1821, when candidates bought the only barrel of cider in town and treated the sovereigns, who afterward anchored the cider down with brandy and "bald-face." The "ball" at Wyant's (on New Year's day) was a social affair nominally, but there, too, were many of the candidates with their most affable smiles. In a recent interview with Mrs. Martin (daughter of George Smith, one of the founders of the *Indianapolis Gazette*) I ascertained that she was present on that occasion and took her part in the dance. Mrs. Martin says that she went to Wyant's in Hogden's "carriage." This last she describes as a great "lumbering thing," like the "mud wagons" employed by the old stage companies in the spring and winter. The supper prepared on this New Year's day, 1822, for the robust ancestors of many of the present Indianapoltians was also described by her. There was, she said, in the open fireplace an immense kettle or cauldron, which contained no less than sixteen gallons of coffee, and there were pans, skillets and other vessels in which were biscuits, sweet bread and that best of all cakes, the real old pound-cake. That New Year's party was composed of every grade in society, so that the candidates had an excellent opportunity to see the people, for my father told me that invitations were extended to everybody, down to the humblest inhabitant of the meanest log cabin on the donation.

On that memorable Christmas, 1821, a number of the candidates had already declared themselves, and my father records the following:

*See Nowland's "Early Reminiscences," pp. 128-130.

"I will here mention the names of some of the candidates for office in our new county. For associate judges, James McIlvain and Mr. Patterson; county clerk, James M. Ray, Milo R. Davis, J. Hawkins, et al.; for county commissioners, Messrs. Hogden, Osburn and Morrow."

In his journal for the 3d day of January, 1822, my father writes:

"Kept close in the morning and wrote letters. In the afternoon visited the river (the largest part of the population was on the east bank of the river). I find the people much agitated about the approaching election." The candidates, it seems, were not the only canvassers. The people were in that business, for my father continues: "There is much canvassing of the character of the candidates and their eligibility. There is hardly a man in town but offers himself for some office, either civil or military."

The divisions were not according to the political parties of the day. They were local, or, rather, geographical. My father informed me that the combatants were ranged under the titles of "Whitewater" and "Kentucky." The emigration from those two sections was simultaneous. The people from Whitewater were as clannish as those from Kentucky, and each wished to have the distribution of the public loaves and fishes. The Whitewater party had some advantage over Kentucky, in that it had received some accessions from people from Ohio and Pennsylvania who had resided long enough in the eastern part of the State to qualify them as voters, while many of the Kentuckians had not resided a year in the State. The Whitewater people were consummate politicians. They had been led and disciplined by such men as Jonathan Jennings, the two Nobles and Jesse B. Thomas previous to their arrival in the New Purchase. My father informed me that these were men of talent, and that greater adepts at political warfare never lived.

From the News of May 10.

The political war-horses of Whitewater and Kentucky did a great deal of vigorous pawing in February, 1822. The proprietors of the *Indiana Gazette* wisely considered that they would not be too partisan. They decided that both parties, if they wished the benefit of the art of printing, must pay the printer.

It was the fashion of the day in the east and in the newer States of the west to issue pamphlets. The first author of a pamphlet or of any other publication (except the *Gazette*) in Indianapolis was not from New England or from New York, but from Kentucky. The late Morris Morris was our first author. The greatest battle to be fought at the election of 1822 was, without doubt, to be over the clerkship for the new county. Whitewater and Kentucky chose their best men. The first selected a young man from New Jersey. He was of undoubted gifts; he had studied at Columbia College, New York; he was a fine penman, and had a neatness of dress and address not often found on the frontier. He had resided in the southern part of the State, and had been deputy clerk at Lawrenceburg and Connersville. This was James M. Ray, a quiet young man but a famous "still hunter." The Kentucky party also selected a strong man. One of nature's noblemen was Morris Morris, who came to Indianapolis from Carlisle, Kentucky, in October, 1821. It seems that the battle must have been already sharp long before Sheriff Hervey Bates issued, on the 22d of February, the proclamation for the election, for I find in my mother's journal the following entry, telling of an evening of a busy day. Under date of January 30 she says:

"Mr. Morris has written a pamphlet and had it put in print. Mr. Fletcher has just jeft me to write an answer to it, and I am all alone this evening." Again she writes:

"Saturday, February 2. Mrs. Buckner dined with us, and after she went away Mr. Osburn came and staid all night." The husband of Mrs. Buckner was one of the candidates for county commissioner. The Mr. Osburn mentioned was another of the candidates for commissioner. He was a mercnant and quite a politician, and no doubt was at my father's that evening to consult on the reply to Morris Morris's "pamphlet." This reply appeared in the shape of a handbill, for my mother writes the next day:

"Sunday, 3d of February. The handbill came out in opposition to what Mr. Morris wrote."

While my father was never a violent partisan, he had decided opinions. In this election he was a Whitewater man, and took a deep interest in the formation of the county, but he sought

no office, and as early as November 8th, 1821, he writes: "I find there are much strife and contention amongst the citizens of this place. I sincerely hope to escape all censure by asking no favors for myself."

In those days it is evident that the Sunday was not observed as strictly as at present. On several occasions in the campaign I learn from my mother's journal that the "printing office was visited by her in company with her husband on that day." On February 15 she writes: "Mr. Morris's second handbill came out." "Handbill" can not be taken in the usual acceptation of the term. It was larger than what we as present understand as such, and is used indiscriminately with the word pamphlet. It was half the size of the *Gazette*, printed on one side, and was usually nailed up in a public place. On the same date the journal continues as follows: "I went to bed early, but Mr. F. was writing an answer to the handbill, and did not go to bed that night. Sunday Mr. F. went to bed early in the afternoon and slept till 8 P. M., when I awakened him and we both went to the printing office and staid until 2 o'clock in the morning." The dairy further reads:

"Monday, 18th February, 1822. In the morning the handbills came out, and great was the mystery. Curiosity was aroused to know who the 'Legal Voter' [doubtless the signature] alluded to when he mentioned 'Col. Puff-back, Captain Swell-back and myself.'"

Skipping over many pages which refer to long consultations and threatened suits for slander, I come to Sunday, March 31st, the day before the election, when my mother records: I spent the day very unsatisfactorily, for there were so many candidates coming in that I could neither read nor write nor do anything else."

On April 1st came the shock of battle. There were thirty-three candidates recorded in the *Gazette*, but in the journals I find there are others mentioned which would make up the number to nearly forty. In 1846 I had an interview with Mrs. Paxton on this election, and she remarked: "I wondered at that time where all the voters were to come from, for it seemed to me that almost every man in Indianapolis was a candidate for office." There were five for county clerk alone (the clerkship

was for seven years). It will be remembered that Marion county was then five times its present size, comprehending the present county, with the addition of Johnson, Hamilton, and parts of Boone, Madison and Hancock. The voting precincts were announced in the proclamation to be at Indianapolis, Finch's (near Noblesville), Page's (Strawtown), Anderson and Pendleton.

It is thirty-three years since [in 1846] after a conversation with my father, I published in the *Indiana Journal* on account of this first election, and in that communication I used this description of the place where the election was held in Indianapolis, viz.: "The election was held in the house of General John Carr, which stands in the rear of Beck's gunsmith shop, nearly opposite the office of H. P. Coburn, Esq."* That description would not answer for the present generation, but when I state that the double hewed-log cabin of General Carr stood on Delaware street nearly opposite the west end of the court-house, all can understand.

If whisky played its part at McGeorge's, down at the river, in 1821, it performed a greater part on the 1st of April, 1822, when, it is computed, the quantities drank must be reckoned in barrels. Kentucky was not to be outdone by Whitewater in the matter of political hospitality. The political issues were entirely geographical and liquid, and Whitewater and whisky carried the day against Kentucky and whisky. The successful candidates were overwhelmingly Whitewater. James McIlvain and Eliakim Harding were chosen associate judges; James M. Ray was elected clerk; Joseph C. Reed, recorder; Messrs. Osburn, McCormick and McCartney became the first commissioners. James M. Ray received the highest vote in the wide district, viz., 217 votes out of 336. In the Indianapolis district (an area as great as the present county) the number of votes was 224, which shows that the population of what we now understand as Marion county was but little more than 1000. The party lines of Kentucky and Whitewater were kept up about three years, but were then harmoniously fused.

Among the defeated candidates for recorder was Alexander

*This reveals the authorship of an anonymous series to be found in the *Journal* of the date mentioned. See note at end of this instalment.

Ralston, to whom, more than any other person, we owe the beautiful plan of Indianapolis. While there are many of our streets bearing the names of individuals, there is not even an alley named in memory of the man who planned the city.

NOTE.—The earliest historical account of Indianapolis known to us appears as a series of unsigned articles in the *Indianapolis Journal*. These contributions, under the heading of "Indianapolis a Quarter of a Century Ago," appeared irregularly in both the weekly and the tri-weekly editions from November 4, 1846, to March 23, 1847. Sundry correspondences between that series and the one here published identifies Mr. J. C. Fletcher as the author of the earlier one. Most that is in that series is comprehended in this, but in the former are at least two items that we regard as rather a "find." The first of these, taken from the *Indiana Gazette*, is of considerable interest in connection with the strenuous Kentucky and Whitewater campaign and the accompanying candidate nuisance. It is an account of "a meeting of the inhabitants of this county, over which Dr. S. G. Mitchell presided and Dr. Coe acted as secretary." At this meeting "sunday resolutions were passed condemning the soliciting of votes of elections by the candidates for public offices, either from favor, flattery, promises, entertainments, treats or rewards, as anti-republican in its principles, injurious to the public peace, interests and morals, troublesome, degrading and corrupting to the candidate. And," concludes this presumably disgusted conclave, "we do resolve that we will withhold our support from all who in the future resort to such practices." [See tri-weekly *Journal* of November 27, 1846.]

The other historical bit is of literary interest, as it is the first "poem" written, or at least published, in Indianapolis. It celebrated the Gates-Chinn wedding described by Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Nowland, and appeared in the first number of the *Gazette*. As a literary curiosity it speaks for itself:

"Come Hymen, now, and bear thy sway
In Indianapolis,
And hasten on the wished-for day
That crowns the nuptial bliss.

May conquering love lend his aid,
And lead direct to thy altar
The sacred virgin, the experienced maid,
The trembling youth and batchelor.

But all ye powers of mortal joy,
Come bless the wedded pair;
Give them bliss without alloy,
Peace and health and pleasing care."

It may be added that the second output of the muse was also inspired by Hymen, for some months later, in connection with the wedding announcement of William C. McDougal and Cyntitha Reagan, appeared the following:

"Hail, generous youth, and hail thou lovely fair,
Love, joy and peace be now your only care.
The wished-for day hath fixed the sacred tie,
And given you mutual, full felicity.

Long may Aurora shine amid the spheres,
And see your joys increase through length of years,
When sweet reflection views the day that's past,
Be each succeeding happier than the last."

There was no relation, seemingly, between the quality of the poetry and the after happiness invoked by the poets, for though this second effusion limped much less painfully over the metrical road, Cyntitha, in due course, left McDougal's bed and board, and he advertised her, warning the public not to trust her on his account. Mr. and Mrs. Gates, on the other hand, journeyed amicably together through their lives, leaving children and their children's children, who at the present day make part of our population.

Who these first versifiers were is forever lost to history.—*Editor.*

THE EARLY SCHOOLS OF INDIANA.

FROM THE PAPERS OF D. D. BANTA—SECOND INSTALMENT.

The Pioneer School Children—Winter Schools and Hardships of the Little Folks—Early Teachers—Their Character and Inefficiency—Their Status with the People—Their Pay—Queer Characters and Customs.

From the Indianapolis News of February 3, 1892.

BEFORE advancing upon the "masters," the books, the methods, the manners and the customs of the pioneer schools, something ought to be said of the pioneer children who made these schools a necessity.

Let me recall the reader's attention to the long paths that oftentimes stretched their serpentine ways between the cabin homes and the cabin schoolhouses—two, three and even four miles long, they sometimes were. In general it was a fall or winter school that was kept—most generally a winter, for every child big enough to work was required at home to aid in the support of the family. We of to-day, with our farms all made and with a superabundance of farm machinery, can scarcely conceive of the extremities to which the pioneer farmers were often driven to secure the planting, tilling and harvesting of the crops. And so the children, in the beginning, could be spared best in the winter seasons, and in consequence the country schools were in general, winter schools.

Happy were those children who had a fall school to attend! The long and winding school-paths threaded a region of delights. What schoolboy or schoolgirl of those far-off days can ever forget the autumnal wood with its many-hued foliage, its fragrant and nutty odors, its red, ripe haws, and its clusters of wild grapes; its chinquapins [acorns of the 'pin oak] and its hickory nuts? And think of the wild life that was part of it all! Gray squirrels barked and chattered from tree to tree, while the voices of glad birds were heard amid the branches from sun to sun. And the school-paths themselves! Were there ever such paths as those winding over hill and through hollow, and filled,

as they were, with dainty, rustling leaves that were as cool and soft to schoolboy foot as silken carpet?

But how different the winter school! When the snow came, blockading the paths, how it tried the temper of the young folk who were limited to one pair of shoes per winter. And how infinitely worse was it when the winter rains came. The whole face of the Indiana earth, whether along the country roads, in the cleared fields or in the woods, was filled with water like a sponge, and the most careful of school children seldom failed to reach school or home with feet soaking wet. Fifty years ago it was not the fashion for boys to wear boots. For that matter there were few men in the country places that wore them, while boot or bootee for girl or woman was not even to be thought of. Riding astride or making a speech would have been no more shocking, and so boots were seldom or never seen in the school-room, but it was the custom of both boys and girls, on occasion, to draw over the ankle and the top of the shoe a sock or stocking leg, or a piece of cloth, which, being well tied to shoe and ankle, kept the dry snow out of the shoe fairly well.

I have known boys and girls to attend school in the fall long after the hard frosts came, and even after the ice began to form, with their feet encased in old socks or stockings so badly worn at the toe and heel as to be fit for no other purpose than wearing in this manner, and so common an occurrence was it that no one thought it worthy of special attention. Sanford Cox, in his "Wabash Valley," draws a graphic word picture of the town of Lafayette, as it appeared to him about 1825, in which he tells us that he had "often" seen the Lafayette juveniles skating upon the ice, "some with skates, some with shoes, and some barefooted." It would seem that if the boys of Lafayette were of such hardy nature we might expect to find in some other places satisfactory evidence that the winter weather did not deter the barefooted from attending school. I have, accordingly, carefully looked through such records as have fallen in my way, and candor compels me to say that I have found only one other instance. This is related by the author of the "History of Monroe County," who says:

"It was then the custom to go to school, winter and summer, barefoot. That seems unreasonable, but it was done, and how?

The barefooted child, to begin with, had gone thus so long that his feet were hardened and calloused to resist the cold by several extra layers of epidermis. He could stand a degree of cold which would apparently chill him to the bone, and could walk for some time in the snow and frost without suffering more than he could bear with reasonable fortitude. When he had to do extra duty in the snow and cold, however, he would take a small piece of board, say a foot wide and two feet long, which had been seasoned and partially scorched by the fire, and after heating it till it was on the point of burning, he would start on the run toward the schoolhouse, with the hot board in his hand, and when his feet became too cold to bear any longer, he would place the board upon the ground and stand upon it till the numbness and cold had been partly overcome, when he would again take his 'stove' in his hand and make another dash for the schoolhouse. * * * Sometimes a flat, light piece of rock was substituted for the board and was much better, as it retained heat longer."

While we may feel assured that there never was a time when it was the fashion in Indiana generally for the children to attend school in the winter-time barefoot, nevertheless I have no doubt that during the territorial and early State periods it so frequently occurred as to occasion little or no remark.

I find but one reference as to the buckskin clothing worn by school children during the earlier periods mentioned. In the early schools of Vanderburg county the local historian tells us that the boys wore buckskin breeches and the girls wore buckskin aprons. Though this is the only statement found by me, yet there was a time when buckskin clothing must have been as common with school children, especially boys, as it was with their fathers.

From the News of February 10.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the efficiency of the pioneer schools was the want of competent teachers. This want was felt from the very beginning and continued on down for many years. "The pioneer teachers were generally adventurers from the East, or from England, Scotland or Ireland, who sought temporary employment during winter, while waiting for an opening for business," said Barnabas C. Hobbs on one occasion.

The Southern States furnished their quota, and western Pennsylvania was not behind any section of equal area in the number sent forth to become educators of the youth of the land. Of course there were many of the old-time teachers who were admirably equipped for their work, and who did it so well that they found a place in the lasting remembrance of their pupils; but while this is true, it is, on the other hand, equally true that the admirably equipped teachers were the exception. So loud were the complaints of the inefficiency of the school teachers throughout the State that they reached the ears of the Governor. In his annual message to the legislature, in 1833, Governor Noble thus calls attention to the subject:

"The want of competent teachers to instruct in the township schools is a cause of complaint in many sections of the State, and it is to be regretted that in employing transient persons from other States, containing but little qualification or moral character, the profession is not in that repute it should be. Teachers permanently interested in the institutions of the country, possessing a knowledge of the manners and customs of our extended population, and mingling with it, would be more calculated to render essential service and be better received than those who come in search of employment." And he proposes as a remedy for the evil the establishment of a seminary for the special training of our native teachers, or the incorporation of the manual labor system with the preparatory department of the Indiana College at Bloomington.

In the beginning of our State's history and for many years thereafter the people held in slight esteem the vocation of the pedagogue. Not because he was a pedagogue, but because he did not labor with his hands. Lawyers and ministers and even doctors who did not show their mettle now and then by acts of manual labor were very apt to receive less favor at the hands of the people than otherwise. An Indiana Secretary of State once, while in office, kept a jack for breeding purposes, and he caused the announcement to be made through the newspapers that he gave to the business his personal attention. It was considered a very proper thing for a Secretary of State to do. This one was an invincible politician before the people. It is related of an early Posey county teacher, one Henry W. Hunt, that when

he first applied for a school the people looked upon him as a "lazy, trifling, good-for-nothing fellow who wanted to make his living without work." What was true in Posey in pedagogue Hunt's case was generally true in every pedagogue's case throughout the State.

Teachers quite often in those days went on the hunt for their schools. They were a kind of tramp—homeless fellows, who went from place to place hunting for a job. When the prospect seemed good the candidate would write an "article of agreement," wherein he would propose to teach a quarter's school at so much per scholar. With that in hand he tramped the neighborhood over, soliciting subscribers, and, if a stranger, usually meeting with more scorn than good-will. He was too often esteemed a good-for-nothing who was too lazy to work. "The teachers were, as a rule," says the historian of Miami county, "illiterate and incompetent, and selected not because of any special qualifications, but because they had no other business." The only requirements were that the teachers should be able to teach reading, writing and ciphering. The teacher who could cipher all the sums in Pike's arithmetic, up to and including the rule of three, was considered a mathematician of no mean ability.

The wages paid the ordinary teacher were not usually such as to give respect to the profession. One of the curious chapters of the times is the low wages paid for all manner of intellectual labor. The Governor received only \$1000 per year, and a judge of the Circuit Court but \$700. Teachers were by no means an exception to the rule. Rev. Baynard R. Hall, the first principal of the State Seminary, at Bloomington, came all the way from Philadelphia to accept of the place at a salary of \$250 a year, and John M. Harney, who subsequently made such a figure as editor of the Louisville *Democrat*, walked all the way from Oxford, O., to apply for the chair of mathematics at a like salary, also, of \$250 per annum. Jesse Titus, an early schoolmaster in Johnson county, taught a school during the winter of 1826-'07 at \$1 per scholar, which yielded him \$6 per month, out of which he paid his board of \$1 per month. The first school taught on the present site of Moore's Hill was by Sanford Rhodes, in 1820, at seventy-five cents per quarter for each pupil, which was paid mostly in trade. In 1830 John Martin taught in Cass county at

\$8 per month. Seventy-five cents per quarter was a price quite commonly met with as late as 1825, or even later, but the price varied. In some sections \$1 per scholar seems to have been the ruling price, in others \$1.50, while in a very few instances \$2 was paid. In many cases, probably a majority, the teacher was obliged to take part of his pay in produce. I find wheat, corn, bacon, venison hams, dried pumpkin, flour, buckwheat flour, labor, whisky, leather, coon skins and other articles mentioned as things given in exchange for teaching. "At the expiration of the three-months' term," says one writer, "the teacher would collect the tuition in wheat, corn, pork or furs, and take a wagon-load to the nearest market and exchange it for such articles as he needed. Very little tuition was paid in cash." One schoolmaster of the time contracted to receive his entire pay in corn, which, when delivered, he sent in a flat-boat to the New Orleans market. Another, an Orange county schoolmaster, of a somewhat later period, contracted to teach a three-months' term for \$36.50, to be paid as follows: \$25 in State scrip, \$2 in Illinois money, and \$9.50 in currency." This was as late as 1842, and there were seventy school children in his district.

A large per cent. of the unmarried teachers "boarded around," and thus took part of their pay in board. The custom in such cases was for the teachers to ascertain by computation the time he was entitled to board from each scholar, and usually he selected his own time for quartering himself upon the family. In most instances, it is believed, the teacher's presence in the family was very acceptable. The late A. B. Hunter, of Franklin, once taught a school under an agreement to board around, but one of his best patrons was so delighted with his society that he invited him to make his house his home during the term, which invitation the young man gratefully accepted. It was not the practice for the married teachers to board around. If not permanent residents of the neighborhood, they either found quarters in the "master's house," or in an abandoned cabin of the neighborhood. Quite common was it to find a "schoolmaster's house," which had been erected by the district, hard by the schoolhouse, for the use of the married masters.

The school terms were usually called "quarters." There were two kinds of quarters known in some localities— the "long quar-

ter" and the "short quarter." The long quarter consisted of thirteen weeks, and the short quarter of twelve weeks.

Notwithstanding the people were inclined to look upon the pioneer schoolmasters as a lazy class, yet they were looked up to perhaps as much if not more, than in these days. I have already said that the presence of the schoolmaster as a boarder in the family of his patron was welcome, for he was generally a man of some reading, and his conversation was eagerly listened to by all. Books and newspapers were scarce in those days, and so conversation was esteemed more than it is now.

A few years ago I had occasion to look into the standing and qualifications of the early teachers of my own county, and on looking over my notes I find this statement: "All sorts of teachers were employed in Johnson county. There was the 'one-eyed teacher,' the 'one-legged teacher,' the 'lame teacher,' the 'teacher who had fits,' the 'teacher who had been educated for the ministry but, owing to his habits of hard drink, had turned pedagogue,' and 'the teacher who got drunk on Saturday and whipped the entire school on Monday.'" A paragraph something like this might be truthfully written of every county south of the National road, and doubtless of every one north of it, but as to that I speak with less certainty, for want of knowledge. The lesson the paragraph points to is that whenever a man was rendered unfit for making his living any other way, he took to teaching. Mr. Hobbs, I believe, states that one of his first teachers was an ex-liquor dealer who, having grown too fat to successfully conduct that business any longer, turned schoolmaster. It is related of the first teacher of the first school in Clay township, in Morgan county, that he was afflicted with phthisic to such a degree that he was unable to perform manual labor; but he was a fairly good teacher, save when he felt an attack of his malady coming on. "That was the signal for an indiscriminate whipping." The first schoolmaster of Vanderburg county lived the life of a hermit, and is described as a "rude, eccentric individual, who lived alone and gained a subsistence by hunting, trapping and trading." John Malone, a Jackson county schoolmaster, was given to tipping to such excess that he could not restrain himself from drinking ardent spirits during school hours. He carried his bottle with him to school but he

seems to have had regard enough for the proprieties not to take it into the schoolhouse, but hid it out. Once a certain Jacob Brown and a playmate stole the bottle and drank till they came to grief. The master was, of course, properly indignant, and "for setting such an example," the record quaintly says, "the boys were soundly whipped." Wesley Hopkins, a Warrick county teacher, carried his whisky to school in a jug. Owen Davis, a Spencer county teacher, took to the fiddle. He taught what was known as a "loud school," and while his scholars roared at the top of their voices the gentle pedagogue drew forth his trusty fiddle and played "Old Zip Coon," "The Devil's Dream," and other inspiring profane airs with all the might and main that was in him. Thomas Ayres, a Revolutionary veteran, who taught in Switzerland county, regularly took his afternoon nap during school hours, "while his pupils," says the historian, "were supposed to be preparing their lessons, but in reality were amusing themselves by catching flies and tossing them into his open mouth." One of Orange county's early schoolmasters was an old sailor who had wandered out to the Indiana woods. Under his encouragement his pupils, it is said, "spent a large part of their time roasting potatoes." About the same time William Grimes, a teacher still further southwest, "employed his time between recitations by cracking hickorynuts on one of the puncheon benches with a bench leg."

[*To be continued.*]

RIVER NAVIGATION IN INDIANA.

THE story of transportation in Indiana properly begins with a consideration of the rivers, for though their uses in this connection was but a passing phase (barring the Ohio), and "navigation in Indiana" now sounds oddly to us, they were at one time of considerable importance in our export trade. They certainly occupied a large space in the hopes of the pioneer fathers. Prospectors who traversed and reported upon the country before the coming of the settler dwelt upon the question of the streams and their navigability as a very important factor in the coming occupancy; and for some years after the occupancy the strenuous insistence in considering "navigable" streams that would seem hopelessly useless for such purpose oftentimes approached the ludicrous. For example, Indianapolis for nearly two decades after its founding, would have White river a highway of commerce in spite of nature and the inability of craft to get over ripples, sandbars and drifts. As early as 1820 it was officially declared "navigable;" in 1825 Alexander Ralston, the surveyor, was appointed to make a thorough inspection of the river and to report in detail at the next session of the legislature. The sanguine hopes that were nourished at the young capital are evidenced by existing records. An editorial in the *Indiana Journal* of March 26, 1831, says:

"For three or four years past efforts have been made by Noah Noble to induce steamboats to ascend the river, and * * * very liberal offers have been made by that gentleman to the first steamboat captain who would ascend the river as far as this place. * * * As early as February, 1827, he offered the Kanawha Salt Company \$150 as an inducement to send a load of salt, agreeing to sell the salt without charge."

In 1830 Noble offered a Capt. Stephen Butler \$200 to come to Indianapolis, and \$100 in addition if Noblesville and Anderson were reached, though what efforts were made to earn these bonuses is not known. From time to time the newspapers made

mention of boats which, according to rumor, got "almost" to the capital, and eventually one made for itself a historic reputation by performing the much-desired feat. This one was the "General Hanna," a craft which Robert Hanna, a well-known character in early politics, had purchased for the purpose of bringing stones up the river for the old National road bridge. The Hanna, which in addition to its own loading, towed up a heavily-laden keel-boat, arrived April 11, 1831, and, according to a contemporary chronicle, "every man, woman and child who could possibly leave home availed themselves of this opportunity of gratifying a laudable curiosity to see a steamboat.

* * * On Monday evening and during the most of the succeeding day the river bank was filled with delighted spectators." Captain Blythe and the artillery company marched down and fired salutes. The leading citizens and the boat's crew peppered each other with elegant, formal compliments, and the former, in approved parliamentary style, "Resolved, That the arrival at Indianapolis of the steamboat General Hanna, from Cincinnati, should be viewed by the citizens of the White river country and of our State at large, as a proud triumph, and as a fair and unanswerable demonstration of the fact that our beautiful river is susceptible of safe navigation."

A public banquet in honor of the occasion was arranged, and the visiting navigators invited to attend, but they were in haste to get out of the woods while the water might permit, and so declined with regrets. Legend has it that the boat ran aground on an island a short distance down river, and lay there ignominiously for six weeks, and that was the last of the "proud triumph" and White river "navigation."

Many are familiar, through Maurice Thompson's "Stories of Indiana," with the Wabash river craft that attempted to establish a "head of navigation" above Lafayette, and, after heroic strugglings, was finally hauled ingloriously up to Logansport by a hawser and a dozen yoke of oxen.* In a book descriptive of the West, written by Jacob Ferris, as late as 1856, is the following account: "The river navigation of Indiana is rendered difficult by frequent shallows. The boats are of light draft, flat-bottomed, with paddles placed across the

*For original account see Cox's "Recollections of the Wabash Valley."

stern. * * * It has been said of the Indiana boats that, in making headway down stream, they contrive to keep up with the current. They draw about as much water as a sap trough. When they get stuck in the sand all hands will jump out and push them off. It is related of an exasperated Hoosier, who had refused to pay his fare till there should be some prospect of getting somewhere or other, that, being ordered ashore from the middle of the river, he stepped into the water, seized the craft by the bows, and gave it a shove down stream, stern foremost. When it worked back to the point he held it there, puffing and fluttering, the captain 'cussing,' till a compromise was effected, and the Hoosier hired for the rest of the trip to help the engineer."

But despite these and many similar absurdities, the Indiana streams were a factor, and an important one, in our earlier commerce. The number of rivers and creeks that have been declared "public highways" by our legislators is a matter for surprise. An examination of the statutes through the twenties and thirties discloses from thirty to forty. According to Timothy Flint, who wrote in 1833, the navigable waters of the State had been rated at 2500 miles, and this estimate he thought moderate. These streams ranged in size from the Wabash to insignificant hill drains that run down the short water-shed into the Ohio, some of which, at the present day at least, would scarce float a plank. Such streams were, however, supposed to have sufficient volume during high water to float flatboats, and the purpose of the legislation was to interdict impeding of the waterway by dams or otherwise, and the clearing of the channel was under State law. To this end many of these streams were divided into districts, as were the roads, and "worked"—i. e., cleared of drifts and other obstructions by the male residents living adjacent to either shore. This service varied with various localities and ranged from one to three days' labor a year from citizens residing one, two and three miles back. These workmen were exempt from road duty. By an act of January 4, 1828, \$1,000 was appropriated for the improvement of the two forks of White river, and they were to be "worked" by the various counties through which they ran. Boards of justices were to appoint supervisors and establish districts, and citizens within two miles on either side were to work the rivers three days in each year.

It is probable that most of those declared navigable bore on their swollen tides at one time or another boats laden with the produce of the country, and an examination of the various histories reveals that very many of our counties thus found, though irregularly, an important outlet for their exports.

The "Emigrant's and Traveler's Guide" a book published in 1832, gives some information on this point. "Hundreds of flatboats," we are told, "annually descended the Wabash and White rivers. * * * The trade of this river (the Wabash) is becoming immense. In 1831, during the period which elapsed from the 5th of March to the 16th of April, fifty-four steamboats arrived and departed at and from Vincennes alone. It is also estimated that at least 1000 flatboats entered the Ohio from the Wabash in the same time. * * * In February, March and April of this year there were sixty arrivals of steamboats at Lafayette."

This showing of a thousand flatboats in less than a month and a half, is no mean one, and shows conclusively the value of the rivers in the early stages of our commerce. Not less interesting is the glimpse which this writer gives us of the character of the commerce. One-tenth of the flatboats, he tells us, was estimated to be "loaded with pork at the rate of 300 barrels to the boat." Another tenth is said to have been loaded with lard, cattle, horses, oats, cornmeal, etc., and the remainder, making by far the largest export, with corn in the ear. Sometimes we hear of more curious cargoes. The inhabitants of Posey county seem to have had a reputation among the facetious river men for "hoop-poles and punkins," and in the history of Jackson county we learn that the first flatboat cargo from Medora, in that county, was hickory-nuts, walnuts and venison hams. The value of produce and stock sent annually to market from the valley of the Wabash by flatboats was estimated by Ferris at nearly \$1,000,000.

While there were other kinds of boats, the flatboat was by far the best craft for the Indiana rivers, by reason of its light draft, its carrying capacity and its cheapness of construction. The huge tulip poplars that abounded in our forests, easily worked with the ax, afforded slabs long and broad enough for the sides, and the simple attaching of planks to these for the

bottom, ends and deck could be readily accomplished by the pioneer with such tools as were at his command. When finished, it was a mere float, or lighter, flat-bottomed and strong enough to stand any amount of ordinary thumping as it drifted down with the current.

An individual, or often several individuals, would knock together one of these, load it with the surplus produce of a neighborhood, and ride down with the freshets. The port was usually far-away New Orleans, from whence the boat was not supposed to return. After the disposal of its cargo it was sold for whatever it might bring, and the merchant returned by steamboat, usually to the Ohio river port nearest his home, thence across country. Sometimes, however, boats came up our rivers laden with imports. These seem mostly to have been keel-boats, a long, narrow craft with a keel, much lighter than the flatboat. The ascent, a most arduous and snail-like task, was effected by poling, where the current permitted, and by "cordelling" where it was swift, the latter process being a towing by hand, one end of the hawser being secured to a tree, to make sure of the distance gained. Two or three of these keel boats are recorded as finding their way to Indianapolis soon after its founding, the principal part of the cargoes being salt and whisky—two very precious articles.

The late Mr. Alexander Conduitt, of Indianapolis, who as a young man was a "sailor" on White river, has described to the writer the flatboats common on that stream. They were about fifteen feet wide; those built at and below Spencer were eighty feet long, and those for the river above Spencer were sixty feet long. A sixty-foot boat would carry 500 dressed hogs.

THE WABASH RIVER.

Such part as was played in Indiana's commercial development by the steamboat was confined virtually to the Wabash and Ohio rivers. This at one time was of considerable importance to the northern and western portions of the State. Lafayette was practically the head of navigation on the Wabash; and, prior to the construction to that point, in 1843, of the Wabash and Erie Canal, it depended much upon the river for an outlet. The "Traveler's Guide," quoted above, speaks of sixty arrivals of

steam craft there within three months in the year 1832, and one writer tells us of sixteen steamboats lying at the wharves there at one time.

With the opening of the Wabash Canal, however, the trade of the valley was diverted eastward and the importance of the river waned. Neither then nor thereafter, however, even to the present day, has the agitation for its improvement ceased. In a report on the subject in the Documentary Journal of 1837 mention is made of the loss annually suffered on the river. During the preceding season, it is stated that not less than fourteen flatboats with valuable cargoes had been wrecked by snags, and because of the damages the high rate of insurance and of pilotage was a heavy tax. The impediment known as the "Grand Rapids," above the mouth of White River was, in particular, a menace to navigation. For the improvement of these rapids Indiana and Illinois have legislated conjointly, and of appropriations, both State and Federal, many thousands of dollars have been expended upon the river. Since 1872 more than \$800,000 has been appropriated and more than \$200,000 expended upon the locks at Mt. Carmel. In 1890 an examination of the channel between Lafayette and Terre Haute, with a view to reestablishing navigation, was made under direction of the United States Engineer's office, but it was found that part of the stream was "not worthy of improvement, as at low water navigation was impracticable;" at high water the numerous low bridges were "complete obstructions to any navigation," and the probable benefits to commerce were "too slight to be worthy of consideration."

NOTE.—Appended is a list (probably only partial), compiled from our statutes, of streams that have, at one time or another, been declared navigable by the Indiana legislature:

White river from its mouth to the main forks; the west fork to the Delaware towns (Muncie); the east fork to the main fork above the mouth of Flatrock.

Muscatahuck, from the mouth to main forks; the north fork to Vernon, and the south fork to the mouth of Graham's fork.

Big Blue river from mouth to Fredericksburg.

Whitewater, from State line, and the west fork to northern boundary of Fayette county.

Loughery creek, from mouth to Hartford.

Anderson creek, from mouth to forks.
Poison creek, from mouth to Cummin's mills.
Oil creek, from mouth to Aaron Cunningham's mills.
Raccoon creek, from the Wabash to the mills of Brooks, Rob-
bins and Rose.
Big creek, from mouth to Black's mill.
Patoka river, from mouth to Moseley's mill.
Indian creek, from mouth to Dickerson's mill.
Indian Kentucky creek, from mouth to Brooks's mill.
Little Pigeon creek to Barker's mill.
Big Pigeon creek to Fairchild's mill.
Big Sand Creek, from the Driftwood to forks.
Sugar creek, from Blue river to Hough's mill.
Busseron creek to Eaton's mills.

Lick creek to Lost river, and Lost river to Sherley's mill.

Mississinewa river to Lewallen's mill, in Randolph county.

All of Blue river in Shelby county. Sugar Creek, in Shelby
county. Brushy Fork, of the Muscatatuck. Eel river to Gray's
mill in Putnam county. Fourteen Mile creek, Black, Beanblos-
som, Twin, Clifty, Salt, Log Lick, Plum and Big Indian creeks.

Anyone erecting dams or otherwise impeding navigation on
these streams was subject to a fine from \$10 to \$500.

The locations of the mills named being in large part lost to
memory, the actual mileage declared navigable is now past
determining.

G. S. C.

THE FIRST STEAMBOAT ON WHITE RIVER.

FROM THE JOURNAL OF AN OLD PILOT.

AN old pilot's journal written in the seventies by John Scott
Elder, an Ohio river pilot who was born in Lexington, Ky.,
in 1802, gives the following interesting account of the first
steamboat trip made on the waters of White river:

"In 1829, I continued on the steamboat 'Victory,' running up
and down the Ohio river until near the last of August; then the
'Victory' laid up to repair. I then went aboard of the steam-
boat 'Traveler,' William Sanders, master, bound for New Orleans.

Yellow fever was raging in New Orleans at this time. After our safe return from New Orleans, I asked Captain Sanders for my discharge: he would not hear of it, and went up to Louisville—our boat was lying at Shippingsport. When he returned he said: 'I have got a full load to go up White river to Spencer.' White river empties into the Wabash river near Mt. Carmel, through on the opposite side of the river; Spencer is in Indiana. So we loaded the boat with salt, and went on our way. Henry Christopher was still my pardner, and neither of us was ever up White river, but we went on our way up the Wabash to Mt. Carmel, then up the White river. White river is a small stream and very crooked; we went over mill-dams, though the water was high, and we finally arrived at Spencer. The steamboat 'Traveler' was the first steamboat that ever turned a wheel on White river; William Sanders, master.

"The water commenced falling so we had to hurry out our load of salt, and go out of the river as soon as possible. Captain Sanders said we would run down the river about thirty miles, land some passengers, and stay there all night, as we had told him we could not run in the night. It was Christopher's first watch. We went on down White river and landed the passengers, some time in the fore part of the night. The Captain then said, 'We will go on to-night. Christopher said nothing,' and away we went. I told Christopher if he could stand it, I could. So my pardner stood watch until twelve o'clock and then called me up. When I took hold of the wheel I do not think I was ever in such a bad fix in my life, for a man that is a pilot can generally see the river all the way ahead of him. However, I told my pardner that I would go it blind, if there was ever any one time in my life when I longed for the light of day that was the time. So we continued on down and I heard the chickens crow, then I knew it was not long until daylight. The first thing I knew we went into the Wabash river, then I was all right. The Wabash, after White river, appeared to be as wide as the Mississippi and we went on our way rejoicing to Louisville, without accident."

EMMA CARLETON.

GRAVES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS.

IN Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, of this magazine, were published lists of Revolutionary graves located in Putnam and Floyd counties. The following list is the fullest, up to date, of these graves as located in various parts of the State by members and chapters of the D. A. R. It is taken from the First Annual Report of the D. A. R. State Historian, Miss Eliza G. Browning:

ALLEN COUNTY. The Mary Penrose Wayne Chapter reports a large number of Revolutionary soldiers buried at Harmersford, but is unable to give the names.

FLOYD COUNTY—6. Located by Piankeshaw Chapter. Joseph Bell, Joshua Fowler, Richard Lord Jones and Benjamin Buckman, all in the New Albany cemetery; Jacob Garrison, Galena; Gabriel Poindexter, Floyd Knobs.

CRAWFORD COUNTY—1. Piankeshaw Chapter. Jeremiah Wright, Fredona cemetery.

CLARK COUNTY—20. Twelve located by Piankeshaw Chapter.

HARRISON COUNTY—18. Piankeshaw Chapter. Charles Dyer, Bethlehem cemetery, near Crandall; Joshua Bennett, Samuel Raugh and Patrick Hunter, Presbyterian cemetery at Rebobeth; Hinson Johnson, Blunk's cemetery, Webster township; Peter Deatrich, George Krone and Charles George, family burying ground one mile south of Elizabeth. David Trout, Luther's Chapel; John Williams, Goldsbury farm, three miles south of Fredricksburg; John Smith, near Corydon; — Cooper, near Hancock's Chapel; Henry Funk and Daniel Funk, west bank of Big Indian Creek, near New Amsterdam; Abraham Harmar and Joseph Harmar, Thompson's burial lot; John Long, High-fill farm, near Corydon; Philip P. Stine, near same place.

HUNTINGTON COUNTY—1. Huntington Chapter. Elijah Mitchell, Good cemetery, Warren township.

JENNINGS COUNTY—1. Mrs. W. A. Guthrie, of John Paul Chapter. Darby McGannon, family burial ground on McGannon farm.

MARION COUNTY—8. Caroline Scott Harrison Chapter. John Morrow, Crown Hill cemetery; Isaac Wilson, family yard, Indi-

anapolis; — Oliver, — Taffe, John George and Edmund C. Johnson (see *Indianapolis News*, August 10, 1878). Robert Dickerson (see *Indianapolis Journal*, April 2, 1829; Thomas Hanna, Greenlawn cemetery.

JEFFERSON COUNTY—19. John Paul Chapter, Madison. Col. John Paul, George Benefield, Jacob Bishop, George Kenneth Blake, Arnold Custer, Alexander Chambers, William Campbell, John Dickerson, James Jackson, David Jones, Thomas Jameson, — McMullen, William Rogers, Thomas Rowland, Thomas Ramsey, Jesse Spann, Jesse Vawter, Remembrance Williams and William Hall. Biographies of each of these compiled.

MONROE COUNTY—5. Bloomington Chapter. William Burch and Henry Barber, near Stamford; Isaac Van Buskirk, near Gosport; John Campbell and Andrew Ferguson (latter colored), Bloomington cemetery.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY—12. Dorothy Q. Chapter. Jacob Miller, Sebastian Stonebraker, Samuel Gregory, William Mason, James McArthur, Robert Gott, Alexander Foster, Presly Sims, John Hardee, John McNulty, Samuel Newell and John Snoddy.

NOBLE COUNTY—2. (Names not sent in).

ORANGE COUNTY—2. Information furnished by Bloomington Chapter. John Riley, Paoli cemetery; William Moore, Livonia cemetery. William Moore's grave was located by the Piankeshaw Chapter.

OWEN COUNTY—7. Spencer Chapter. James Bryant and Peter Witham, Spencer cemetery; Joshua Kelley, two miles north of Spencer; Ninian Steele, four and a half miles northwest of Gosport; Andrew Evans, Asher farm, near Gosport; John Snoddy, four miles north of Gosport; Thomas Ashbrook, Secrest cemetery near Ramona. John McCullough, James Carpenter, — Little, — Nye and — Witham are names of men buried in Owen county who are said to have been Revolutionary soldiers, but this is tradition and no proof is had of their services.

PORTER COUNTY—2. Valparaiso Chapter. Henry Bolton and — Jones.

RUSH COUNTY—2. Mrs. W. A. Guthrie, of John Paul Chapter, and Miss Eliza G. Browning, of Caroline Scott Harrison

Chapter. John Riley and George Brown, family burial lot, Richmond township.

SCOTT COUNTY—1. Piankeshaw Chapter. Amosa Mitchell, Friendship graveyard, below New Frankfort.

TIPPECANOE COUNTY—5. Gen. de La Fayette Chapter. Jacob Lane, Nathin White, George Rank, George Stoner and Jacob Kaiser, Greenbush cemetery.

WASHINGTON COUNTY—Piankeshaw Chapter. Jacob Doan, near Hardinsburg. Total, 117.*

Of further D. A. R. work in Indiana the report says:

"Lafayette, Spencer and Crawfordsville Chapters have erected monuments to the Revolutionary dead in their counties; to the efforts of Piankeshaw and Ann Rogers Clark chapters we owe the tall shaft that marks the scene of the Pigeon Roost massacre; the John Paul Chapter, of Madison, has rescued the old cemetery in their city, and converted it into a beautiful park; the Lafayette Chapter gave to the battleship Indiana a handsome silver loving cup. Of the efforts of the chapters to stimulate patriotism and the study of history, here are some of the results: Evansville has given medal and books as prizes for essays on historical subjects; for the same purpose Lafayette has given books, a steel engraving of Gen. de Lafayette, and a flag; Crawfordsville has awarded medals; Huntington has given a money prize, pictures and a flag, and books to their city library; John Paul Chapter has erected a flagstaff and presented to each of the eight high schools in their county a framed copy of the Declaration of Independence; Rensselaer has given a picture to a school; Paul Revere Chapter has given a framed copy of the Declaration of Independence to the Muncie Public Library; the Caroline Scott Harrison Chapter has bent its energies toward raising large sums for Continental Hall; the General Arthur St. Clair Chapter, remembering that our motto is 'home and country,' has contributed a substantial sum of money to the new Methodist hospital in Indianapolis, in addition to their work for Continental Hall. In this hospital will be a room named the 'General Arthur St. Clair' room, and in this way they have erected a monument to the hero whose name the chapter bears."

*To the above list we would add the name of William Crawford, buried in the Bryan graveyard, near Centerville. For sketch of Crawford see Young's History of Wayne County, p. 176.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Proprietor.*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

A DELAYED ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

An acknowledgment of favors received should have appeared in the last number of this magazine, but was unintentionally omitted. The magazine last year barely paid expenses, and, much as the publisher desired to keep it up, its continuance seemed impracticable. That it has continued to exist is largely due to the friendly aid of several well-wishers who added to their personal subscriptions a number of extra ones, thus swelling the subscription list very materially and putting in the hands of the publisher a fund sufficient, in addition to the regular list, to defray the publishing expenses for the current year. This was done without any soliciting on the part of the publisher, and that men of such character should have thought the publication worthy of their voluntary support and endorsement is the most gratifying result, so far, of our effort to promote an interest along this line. We here make mention of the gentlemen to whom our thanks are due:

Messrs. A. W. Butler, W. E. Henry, J. Frank Hanly, Charles J. Buchanan, Geo. W. Benton, Daniel Wait Howe, John H. Holliday, C. B. Coleman and T. E. Hibben, Indianapolis; Mrs. Milton Shirk, Peru; Mr. Fremont Goodwine, Williamsport; Mr. J. A. Woodburn and the Monroe County Historical Society, Bloomington; Mr. Cyrus W. Hodgins, Richmond; Mr. F. B. Shutts, Aurora; Mr. Robt. S. Taylor, Fort Wayne, and Mr. Geo. B. Lockwood, Winona Lake.

To Messrs. W. E. Henry and A. W. Butler we are especially indebted.

THE RICHMOND CENTENNIAL.

The plans for the Richmond Centennial anniversary, to be observed next September, still go enthusiastically on. The program has been arranged, and committees for the many branches of work organized, while the local press from time to time

publishes historical matter calculated to arouse the public interest in the movement; and the town, seemingly, is being searched for relics, historical documents and all kinds of tributary material. An important feature of the occasion will be a "Centennial History" of the city, under the charge of a History Committee, in which the various phases of development will be carefully dealt with by those most competent for the tasks. With the effort that is being made to get at all existing material, it is probable that the book will contain much of real historic value hitherto unused.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN INDIANA.

By request Prof. Cyrus W. Hodgin, of Richmond, supplies us with the following information:

"The local historical societies in this State that are at present active, so far as we have been able to learn, are located in the following counties: Elkhart, Grant, Henry, Kosciusko, Monroe, St. Joseph, Wabash and Wayne. The facts of the history of the Elkhart, Grant and Kosciusko societies are wanting. The Wayne county society was organized first in 1882 within the Old Settlers' organization. It was reorganized in 1901 and incorporated in 1902. It has rooms in the court-house at Richmond, assigned to it by the county commissioners, who recently appropriated \$250 to furnish suitable cases for its collection. Its collection of books, files of papers, volumes of magazines and various relics, numbers between six and seven hundred. This does not include the papers that have been read before it. Its meetings are held quarterly, that in November being called the annual meeting. It is supported by membership fees.

"The Henry county society was organized in 1887 and incorporated in 1901. It is housed in a valuable property purchased for the purpose by the county commissioners at a cost of \$5000. It is supported, however, by membership fees and special contributions. It has a valuable collection.

"The society in St. Joseph county is known as the Northern Indiana Historical Society. It aims to work the field of the entire State. It has for its quarters the entire second floor of the public library building in South Bend. Its collection is said to contain the largest number of historical publications and the

most interesting historical relics in the State. The annual meeting occurs in February.

"The Wabash society was organized and incorporated in 1901. It has been given the use, by the county commissioners, of Memorial Building in the city of Wabash, where it has begun a collection of historical materials. This society does not collect membership fees, but each member must 'pay for one share of stock in the association.' Among its officers are a historian and an archæologist. The annual meeting is held in Wabash in October. Special meetings may be held at such times and places as the board of directors may designate.

"The Monroe county society was organized in 1905. It is maintained by a membership fee. The meetings are held monthly in the lecture-room of the Kirkwood Avenue Christian Church in Bloomington. The topics in its programs indicate that much good investigation is being made in the history and biography of the county."

PRESERVATION OF THE FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION."

Since our last issue the Northern Indiana Historical Society has put into circulation the following circular which we are glad to reprint. All local societies should indorse the memorial:

"To the Senators and Representatives from Indiana:

"The Northern Indiana Historical Society at a special meeting of its executive committee held this day, unanimously adopted the following memorial:

"The members of the Northern Indiana Historical Society hereby strongly indorse the movement for the preservation of the U. S. Frigate 'Constitution,' now lying at the Navy Yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts,—a war vessel around which cluster many memories of the early days of the Republic,—the vessel which, by its destruction of the British warship 'Guerriere, gave to the war of 1812 its first victory, and encouraged the nation to renewed and ultimately successful efforts, after the early and discouraging events of the war.

"The society urges that the members of Congress from Indiana favor the appropriation added by the Senate to the naval appropriation bill for the repair or rebuilding of the famous frigate, that it may be an object lesson, showing what in 1812 was

considered a well-equipped vessel of war, thus illustrating the marvelous progress which steam and steel have wrought in naval architecture in a single century. The frigate 'Constitution,' so long as she is afloat, will serve to recall a naval victory which, small in itself when won, was the foundation of the maritime power of the nation.

"And, said society earnestly requests and urgently petitions the members of Congress from Indiana to use every honorable effort and influence within their control to secure so liberal an appropriation as may be necessary to fittingly restore and permanently preserve the frigate 'Constitution' for the purpose above set forth, and as an inspiration of patriotism to the youth of our country.

TIMOTHY E. HOWARD, *President*.

"GEORGE A. BAKER, *Secretary*."

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

The Moravian Mission on White River.—In the *Indianapolis News* for March 17, 1906, Mr. J. P. Dunn has an interesting contribution in which he discusses the martyrdom of Christian Indians among the Delawares of White river, under the instigation of the nefarious "Prophet," and the Moravian Mission that was established among these people early in the nineteenth century. Hitherto the chief, if not the sole authorities, touching upon these matters have been John B. Dillon, the Indiana historian, and John Heckwelder, the Moravian missionary. To these have recently been added the original reports of the mission, which were discovered in the archives of the Moravian church, and which it is the intention of the Indiana Historical Society to publish. That they will add new information to our rather meager knowledge of the Indians of Indiana is to be expected.

The site of the old Moravian mission, like that of Ouiatenon, is somewhat uncertain, though tradition places it on White river about two miles east of Anderson. A witchcraft craze, inaugurated by the Prophet, who, with his brother Tecumseh, was then located among the Delawares, so discouraged the missionaries that their establishment was discontinued in 1806. In subsequent history so little mention is made of it that its existence is practically forgotten.

In this connection, it may be said that such authorities as we

have upon the subject seem to be quite uncertain as to the distribution of the Indians along White river. Chief Anderson's town and the Munsee town, at or near where Anderson and Muncie now stand, are frequently spoken of in local chronicles, but to most of the others there is very little allusion. According to a United States survey map made in 1821 there was a Little Munsee Town, near Anderson's village, and a Buck Town a little farther up the river. In a former number of this magazine (see Vol. I, No. 4, p. 176) were published some communications reminiscent of an old Indian torture stake that stood for a number of years after the whites came into the country. This was on the river, about three miles southeast of Muncie. From one of these letters, written by Samuel Cecil, who for many years owned the land, it is pretty conclusive that an Indian town of some permanence stood at that place, and that a stake for torturing prisoners was a notable feature of it. Mr. Cecil says that the village was known as Old Munsey, or Old Town Hill, and that it antedated the Munsey that stood just across the river from the present city of Muncie. In Henry county they have a tradition of a town that stood not far from the site of New Castle, and which remained there for some time after the coming of the whites. Judge Martin L. Bundy who, we believe, has a personal recollection of them, affirms that they were Senecas. The Indians who were murdered near Pendleton, in 1824, are also said to have been Senecas. The Senecas belonged to the Iroquois confederacy, and this dual tradition would seem to indicate that Iroquois were to be found among the Algonquins of this section. Strawtown, in Hamilton county, is also said to have been originally "a flourishing Indian town," and there are vague reports of others on the river at the north and south boundary lines of Marion county.

The Union Literary Society.—We are in receipt of an interesting article with this caption, written by Philander Outland, of Richmond, and published in the *Sun-Telegram* for November 22, 1902. The Union Literary Society, or Institute, more properly speaking, was a school in Randolph county, established by the Friends in 1845, and was, perhaps, the first institution of the kind in the State to throw open its doors alike to white and col-

ored pupils. It was commenced in a two-story hewed-log building, "located in a dense forest," and in this primitive seat of learning many a youth of the under race was guided toward a broader life. An account of the school, written by Professor Ebenezer Tucker, its principal, may be found in the History of Randolph County, but Mr. Outland, a colored man who was educated there, deals freshly and more at length with its special service to the colored race. Negro pupils attended the school not only from the territory immediately surrounding, but from Richmond, Logansport and Indianapolis, this State, and from Dayton, Piqua, Cincinnati, and Shelby and Mercer counties, Ohio, while some came from Mississippi and Tennessee.

Baber's History of Green County.—Mr. Henry Baker, of Worthington, sends us a copy of the little paper-bound History of Greene County, the authorship of which is accredited to "Uncle Jack Baber," and which was published at Worthington in 1875. Some of the best local history we have is to be found in pamphlets or small, unpretentious volumes published by the authors, and Baber's is one of this class. It is evidently written by a reminiscient who is thoroughly familiar with the community in which he has long lived, and the text, which rambles along in a gossip style, contains many minor incidents and anecdotes that bring the people of Greene county close to the reader. The book is now hard to find.

THE SNOWFALL IN OCTOBER, 1869.

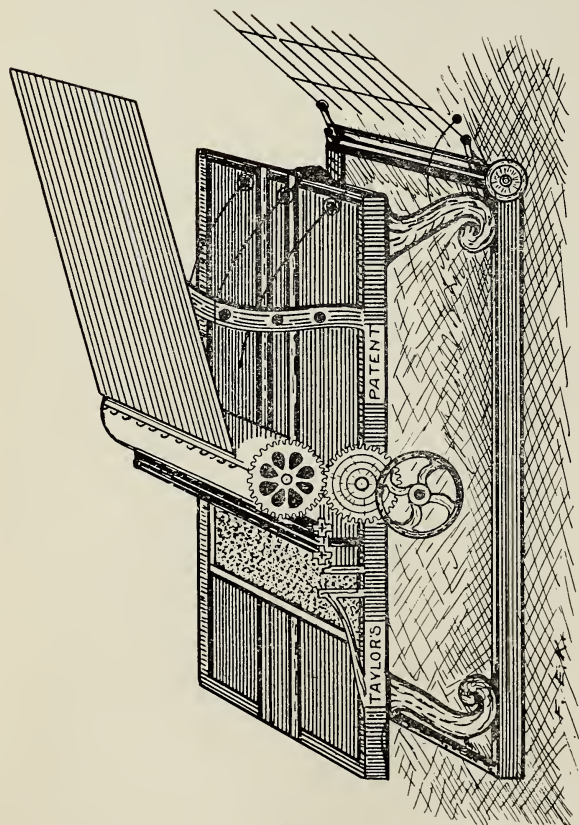
From Indiana Farmer, November 11, 1905.

I SEE in the last issue of the *Farmer*, C. H., of Ohio, wants to know the exact date of the deep snow that fell in October of 1868 or 1869. As I have been keeping a record only since 1872, I can rely only on my memory for the information wanted, which was in 1869, the day of the week or month not remembered. If I knew the day of the month I could tell the day of the week. I well recollect a snow in 1843, when I was just turned into my twelfth year, that for severity has perhaps never

been equalled. The day of the month or week I fail to recollect, but from an old man of my acquaintance and several years my senior, I learned it was the 4th. I have a vivid recollection that will remain with me as to snow while the trees were in full leaf. From my diary of 1880 I see that two inches of snow fell on the forenoon of October 19th (Tuesday), and that at noon the sun came out and the snow went like a white frost. I regret that I didn't keep a diary of my school days, just as every young man should. I find it a great source of satisfaction now in my old age for reference.

HENRY BAKER.

Worthington.



FIRST STEAM PRINTING PRESS IN INDIANAPOLIS

Installed by John D. Defrees in office of the *Indiana State Journal*, 1847. See page 157.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. II

SEPTEMBER, 1906

No. 3

THE EARLY NEWSPAPERS OF INDIANA.

BEGINNINGS AND DEVELOPMENT OF JOURNALISM.

IN view of the illiteracy with which early Indiana has (justly or unjustly) been accredited, the ubiquity of the newspaper press, almost from the beginning, is a matter for surprise. We have abundant evidence that in our pioneer population there was a large element of intelligent and thinking men. The man of this type, with the alert American sense of citizenship and with a lively curiosity about the news of the world (whetted, perhaps, by his isolation), together with his zeal for local development, demanded an organ to promote his political opinions, to keep him in touch, in some fashion, with the outside world, and to advocate the public wants. As a consequence, generally speaking, wherever he went and established his rude beginnings of a civil and social life, the printing press followed hard after.

These journalistic beginnings are very difficult to trace because of the meagerness and uncertainty of the records. Many a paper that had its little day and was once part of the history of its community has passed utterly away, leaving not a number nor even a memory in the minds of men to tell that it ever existed; and the only proof of its existence often is indirect and obscure. Others have changed their names, sometimes repeatedly, while still retaining their newspaper identity, and in a study of the subject this is confusing.

The sources for such a study are, mainly, the newspaper directories, local histories, United States census reports, old gazetteers and newspaper files. The first of these are of little historical value, and the local histories are not always reliable and sometimes wholly silent as to the papers of their localities. The most valuable of these sources are old newspaper files, for in them, though fragmentary and incomplete, we find not only many of the publications themselves, but allusions to and adver-

tisements of other contemporaneous papers. From these various authorities I have compiled a list of about 250 periodicals, mostly newspapers, published in this State prior to 1850. The list is, probably, not complete, nor always accurate as to dates, etc., but is, I think, about as trustworthy as it can be made from the source material available. To give anything like detailed information about these many ventures is, of course, out of the question here, but their chronological and, in some cases, geographical distribution may be briefly given. For convenience they may be considered by decades.

FIRST DECADE.—From 1800 to 1810 the only publication in the Territory of Indiana was the *Indiana Gazette* and its successor, the *Western Sun*, of Vincennes. This paper was established in 1804 by Elihu Stout, who shipped a printing outfit from Frankfort, Ky., by way of the Kentucky, Ohio and Wabash rivers. This sheet antedated the first one in St. Louis by four years, and seems to contest the claim to priority with the first in the Louisiana Purchase, as the earliest New Orleans papers were in 1804. These were *Le Moniteur*, a French publication, and the *Louisiana Gazette*. Of the first I have not found the exact date; the latter was first issued in July of the year given. The *Indiana Gazette* was burned out and re-established as the *Western Sun*. Subsequently it became *The Western Sun and General Advertiser*, *Jones' Vincennes Sentinel*, *The Vincennes Indiana Patriot*, *The Courant and Patriot*, and, finally, *The Western Sun* again, which name it still bears. Two or three in Ohio preceded this one.

SECOND DECADE.—By 1810 the St. Louis paper, and ten in the English, French and Spanish languages that had been started in New Orleans, had all suspended. The one in Indiana Territory sturdily persisted in living, in spite of the disaster by fire that overtook it almost in the start, and during the second decade others came to keep it company. The record we have of them is scant, but the following are mentioned in local histories and elsewhere:

The Corydon Gazette, 1814; *The Plaindealer and Gazette*, Brookville, 1815 or 1816; *The Republican Banner* and *The Indiana Republican*, Madison, 1815 and 1816; *The Indiana Register*, Vevay,

1816; *The Centinel*, Vincennes, about 1817 (partial file in State Library); *The Vevay Reveille*, 1817; *The Indiana Oracle*, Lawrenceburg, 1817 or 1819; *The Intelligencer*, Clark County (probably Charlestown), 1818; *The Enquirer* and *Indiana Telegraph*, Brookville, 1819. There is also vague mention of one, name not given, conducted at Jeffersonville in 1820 by George Smith and Nathaniel Bolton, who a little later founded the first Indianapolis paper, the *Gazette*; and one at New Albany by Ebenezer Patrick.

THIRD AND FOURTH DECADES.—At the beginning of this article I said that wherever the pioneer went the printing press followed hard after. This, perhaps, is an over emphasis of the argument if we construe "hard after" as immediately. Just at this point we have an interesting revelation as to the time necessary for the creating of a journalistic field. It should be noted that the dozen or so papers above given were confined to the south third of the State. In 1820, the whole central portion of our Territory was thrown open to settlers and there was an influx of population that spread as far north as the Wabash. There seem reasons why the newspaper press should spread accordingly, but by my notes I find that while during the third decade the number of papers was trebled, only four of them were in the "New Purchase," as the newly opened country was called. These were the *Indianapolis Gazette* (see Note 1), *The Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide*, which became the *Indianapolis Journal*, the *Lafayette Journal*, and the *Pottawattomie and Miami Times*, of Logansport (Note 2). During these ten years many thousands of settlers had come in, and there are reasons for believing that many papers were taken and read, but for some reason the conditions seem not to have invited journalistic ventures until the beginning of the next decade. In the early thirties they began to spring up and during these ten years one hundred new papers came into existence, by far the larger part of which were in the central and northern localities, and scattered pretty well over these portions from Columbus to Michigan City, and from Henry to Parke counties. From 1840 to 1850 I find added to the list at least one hundred and fourteen more, and of these comparatively few are located in the older parts of the State (Note 3).

As stated above, the number of periodicals that I have found trace of as existing in the State prior to 1850 is something like 250. There were certainly some in addition to these that have quite disappeared from mortal ken. Many were ephemeral, and the mortality among them is indicated by a comparison of the number I find with those given on the United States census. This comparison can not be made through that medium until 1840, when the census first deals with the periodicals of the country. Up to that period, according to my research, at least 134 had been established, but the total number existing in the year mentioned is reported in the census as 79, while against the 250 that had been in 1850 only 107 remained.

Drawing still further upon these census reports, we find some interesting figures touching the output of the press, not only as to increase but as to character. In the beginning all periodicals were weekly newspapers. By 1840 a differentiation had begun, and along with 69 weeklies there were 4 semi- and tri-weeklies and 3 classified as "periodicals," presumably literary. In the following decade the daily makes its appearance, and by 1850 there are 9 of these, along with 95 weeklies, 2 tri-weeklies and 1 semi-monthly, with a total circulation of 63,138. In 1860 there were 186, with the political weekly still in the ascendancy, but showing an intrusion into the field of 6 religious and 5 literary weeklies and monthlies, and with an aggregate circulation of 159,381. During the sixties there was a much heavier rate of increase, the census of 1870 showing 293 and a circulation of 363,542. The next ten years the advance was more marked yet, and by 1880 had reached the number of 467, with a circulation of 661,111. By this time the dailies had increased to 40, and the monthlies to 27. The tables of 1890 show 680 newspapers and periodicals, with a circulation of 1,292,418; those of 1900, 887, and a circulation of 210,805, or an output during the entire year of 175,432,092 copies.

One of the interesting phases of journalistic history is the differentiating process above referred to, one aspect of which affords an important sociological datum as indicating changes in the attitude of the public. Not only has the weekly, in large measure, given place to the daily, and the daily fallen into classes, as morning and evening, but there have been changes

of a deeper significance. In the earlier times the journal was, first of all, a party organ, with all the rabid partizanship that that implies when the party organ is in its worst estate. Even the news, where possible, it seemed, was twisted to subserve party ends, and as a concomitant, savage political rancor was the order of the day. The modern newspaper is not all sweetness and light, but one could hardly imagine, for example, the *Indianapolis Journal* in its latter days admitting to its columns, as it does in the issue of November 3, 1836, an open letter addressed to "the Lying, Hireling Scoundels who do the dirty work as Editors of the *Democrat*." The pioneer reader was nothing if not a partizan, and the acrimony with which both editors and contributors expressed themselves is an index to the moral spirit of the times. Not only political differences but personal animosities were aired in the public columns with a brutal rancor and ferocious hate based, so far as one can see in the controversies, on little cause.*

So little was the old journal a newspaper, in the modern sense, that local news, or, indeed, any kind of news other than political was hardly thought worth the space. The things that would now have peculiar historical value, had the papers chronicled them, are provokingly scant. What local matter there was had no separate department, but was usually scattered down the editorial column, and matters that we now regard as of interest and importance often had little or no mention. For example, one would think that the people, and, as a consequence, the press, would have been very much interested in the admission of the State to the Union, and in the convention that framed the first Constitution, at Corydon; but in the files of the *Western Sun* of that period (the only paper of that date available) very little is said about the convention, and the first conspicuous indication of statehood is the budding forth, more than a month after the convention, of notices of candidates inaugurating the grand rush for office. The startling earthquake shocks of 1811-'12, the equally startling star shower of 1833, and other notable occurrences are dismissed

*Governor James B. Ray was a past-master at this gentle art of vituperation, and an open letter of his to James Noble, then United States Senator, published in the *Indianapolis Journal* of March 3, 1830, is a good example of the fierceness I speak of.

with little more than a mere mention, though they unquestionably occupied a large place in the public mind at the times.

The first venture, perhaps, in the local field was *The Locomotive*, a little weekly, unique for that day, which was launched in 1845 as an amateur performance by three apprentices in the *Indiana Journal* office, of Indianapolis. It died a couple of times, but was revived, enlarged a little, more maturely edited, perhaps, and proved a "go." It was wholly local and literary, with much of the society column feature, and, according to Berry Sulgrove, "covered so well a field completely neglected by the grave political organs that it soon began to pay." It was, he adds, "the first paper that the women and girls wanted to read regularly."

The early newspaper did not, however, wholly neglect literature. Indeed, it sometimes filled in with a disproportionate amount of reading matter of this sort, not only from the writers of the day, but from those of the past, as in the case of the *Ripley County Index*, which published in a serial form the whole of "Pilgrim's Progress." Love stories, often serials, not unfrequently occupied the first page. There was also, usually, the time-honored Poets' Corner, affording a chance to budding rhymsters, and showing that the muse, though humbly subordinate, was not quite forgotten. In *The Western Sun*, of Vincennes, this latter department was headed the "Poetical Asylum."

THE INDEPENDENT PRESS.

The development of the independent newspaper during the last third of a century is one of the interesting journalistic phenomena. Prior to that period there were in this State several so-called independent sheets, but these were, without exception, I believe, simply neutral and not aggressively independent, as the modern usage of that term implies. The most noteworthy of these was the *Independent Press*, established at Lawrenceburg in 1850, by Henry L. Brown and James E. Goble, and edited by Oliver B. Torbett. From the salutatory and a long communication to the editor in the first number on the needs of an independent press, one would think that the paper had naturally risen out of a growing demand for such; but Mr. Brown, one of the founders, now (or until recently) living in

Indianapolis, explains that the independence of the new paper was largely accidental. The Democratic field was already occupied; there was no encouragement for a Whig organ in that county, and hence the remaining alternative. This is one of the most interesting papers of its period, and its superiority over the majority of its contemporaries alike in the matter of news, literature and miscellany, doubtless accounted for the measure of success to which it attained.

The independent movement which avowedly takes an active part in all political issues and makes a virtue of the "flopping" which so excites the scorn of the staunch partizan, was inaugurated in this State by John H. Holliday who, in 1869, established the *Indianapolis News*. Being a man of ideas, and with the boldness to experiment with these, he launched a paper that in several respects occupied its own field. It is supposed to have been the only two-cent paper, outside, possibly, of Chicago, that existed west of the Allegheny mountains. Prior to the war cheap papers had sprung up, but the advance in cost of material, particularly of white paper, in the war period, had driven them out. It was made an afternoon paper because day labor cost less than night work; and, finally, it was made an independent paper because Mr. Holliday preferred and believed in that kind of a newspaper. It may be added that the proprietor secured for it the Associated Press dispatches, which advantage no previous evening publication here had enjoyed.

Just how far the well-known success of the *News* is attributable to its political independence and how much to good business management is not obvious, but its success in the independent field has doubtless been a strong influence in developing the movement. Others followed the lead of this pioneer in its venture, and that they met a "felt want" would seem to be indicated by the fact that by 1903, according to Lord & Thomas's Pocket Directory of that year, there were in the State no less than 219 independent journals, not counting those that professed a qualified independence, such as "Republican-Independent" and "Democratic-Independent." These are scattered pretty well over the State, and 185 of them (34 not being returned) had an aggregate circulation of 266,103.

OTHER CHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS.

Other notable changes in the journalistic character and tone have grown up, revealing changes in the modes of thought of the people and a broader development. Whatever other objectionable elements have come to the fore in modern newspapers of a certain type, politics as a controlling force and as an excuse for the existence of an organ no longer occupies the prominence that it once did. The function of the political journal is subordinate to that of the newspaper, and along with this change goes a marked melioration of the political rancor. As a purveyor of news and of opinion the journal of to-day in its influence undoubtedly outweighs all other literary agencies in the general effect upon public thought—which certainly will not seem an over-statement when we consider that the aggregate circulation of the newspaper in Indiana at the last census amounted to one paper for each 1.19 persons.*

Another side of the newspaper business may be referred to. By the census of 1900 the 887 publications mentioned were represented by 4,084 wage-earners, whose aggregate wages for the year amounted to \$1,784,059. There was a further investment in 25,546,899 pounds of paper, and the total income from advertisements, subscriptions and sales was \$3,912,514. Add to this, as the value of land, buildings, printing material, etc., \$4,792,139, and we get an approximate idea of the industrial importance of this branch of the publishing business. These figures also include the class of publications called periodicals, but these, by comparison with the newspapers, are inconsiderable. They do not include book or job printing.

HUMORS OF PIONEER JOURNALISM.

The introduction of the pioneer press into the wilderness was marked by peculiar hardships owing to the remoteness from sources of supplies and general lack of facilities. The transporting hither of a printing plant was of itself no small undertaking, and stories of mishaps and difficulties have survived. When *The Western Register* came to Terre Haute in 1825, it was by wagon over primitive roads, and the whole kit, press, type

*In newspaper reading, as given by the census tables of 1900, Indiana ranks sixteenth in the Union.

and paper for the first issue, was upset in fording a stream. The consequent delay in the paper's initial appearance was explained as due to "circumstances beyond our control"—a comprehensive and oft-used excuse which the first printers probably kept "standing." This was only the beginning of this journal's difficulties. Often the stores and shops of the town had to be ransacked for ordinary wrapping paper to print on; sometimes only a half sheet was sent out, and sometimes no paper could be issued at all. The first paper in Martinsville, printed on a small wooden press, also frequently depended upon store paper.* When Milton Gregg bought a second-hand printshop at Brookville to start *The Western Statesman* at Lawrenceburg, he sent "a wild Hoosier teamster" for the outfit, and the latter, laying a quilt upon the floor, emptied thereon in one pile the various cases of type, both body and job. It was three weeks before Gregg's printers got the pi distributed. The first paper in Rushville, *The Dog-Fennel Gazette*(!), published by one Wickham in 1832, seems, from the unique name bestowed upon it, to have been consciously grotesque. What the eccentric father of it used as bed for his press we are not told, but it is affirmed that for his pressing power he utilized a heavy pole, one end of which was attached to a tree. Placing the form under the pole near the tree, so as to get a good leverage, he would squeeze off his impressions. The sheets were distributed printed on one side, and his patrons, after reading, would return the paper to be printed on the other side for another issue. This quite equals the old jest among the fraternity about sheets that are worked with swamp mud on a cider press. A copy of *The Dog-Fennel Gazette* would be an interesting find.

That these early ventures in the journalistic field should have exercised their function in a primitive manner and made a rather sorry shift generally is not surprising, the wonder, indeed, being that the mortality among them was not greater. In *The Bloomington Post* for August 30, 1832, nearly three editorial

*In the *Indianapolis Journal* of May 8, 1828, I find mention of a paper mill at Madison. A futile attempt to establish one in Richmond in 1828 was followed in 1830 by a successful venture. (Young's *Wayne County*, p. 389.) The United States Census returns of 1840 report three of these mills in the State—in Jefferson, Franklin and Wayne counties (Madison, Brookville and Richmond.) The aggregate capital invested is given as \$68,739, and the value of production for the last year as \$86,457.

columns are given to the status of the press. It is bitterly complained that "interlopers," not practical printers but "quack doctors, half-read lawyers and pretended literary characters," had invaded the journalistic field to the demoralization alike of the journal and of the legitimate printers' chances, which latter are represented as slim at best.

To begin with, the munitions of war for their crusade against darkness was an exceedingly uncertain quantity, for though their subscription rates were high compared with the news weekly of to-day, and the advertising patronage was often liberal, the editor shared with business men at large the embarrassments of scant cash and delayed payments. Indeed, the sentiment seemed to prevail that the newspaper man and the doctor could wait for their pay a little longer than any one else. We find that rather extraordinary inducements were offered for advance payments, and the clause as to arrearages is one of the proofs of the frequency of arrearages. The acceptance of all sorts of produce, from cordwood to maple sugar, was common, and if we may judge by the long continuance of the custom, yet more in vogue with printers than with merchants. A notice to be found in an old number of the Brookville *Indiana American* announced that it will accept "the following currency at par, for subscription or advertising, to-wit: Maple Sugar, Molasses, Country Linen, Jeans, Chickens, Butter, Cheese, Wood, Dried Apples, Dried Peaches, Corn, Wheat, Flour, Cornmeal, Pork, Beef, Oats, Hay, Bacon, or most any other mechanical production," and *The Bloomington Post* of October 26, 1838, advertises that "persons expecting to pay for their papers in produce must do so soon, or the cash will be exacted. Pork, Flour, Corn and Meal will be taken at the market prices. Also, those who expect to pay us in firewood must do so immediately—we must have our wood laid in for the winter before the roads get bad." The same paper for July 6, 1838, after repeated appeals to creditors, resorts to this heroic measure:

"THE BLACK LIST.—We have forwarded accounts to several persons indebted to us for Job Work, Subscriptions, etc., and we are sorry to say that they pay little or no attention to them. We take this opportunity to inform those gentlemen that if they any longer neglect to remit to us the amount of our accounts we

will forthwith place their names in bold capitals on the 'black list,' as scoundrels and swindlers."

Three weeks later the editor began his black list, but whether or not it had the desired effect is a matter lost to history.

Akin to this is the wail of the Madison *Indiana Republican* for July 26, 1817, which says:

"Mr. Clerk, I wish you to discontinue my *dunning* advertisement. My debtors pay no attention to it. Be so good as to inform the Sheriff that I wish to see him. Yours truly,

"B. YOUNG."

Nor was this all, nor, perhaps, the most serious of the printer's troubles. His most avowed function was to supply people with the news, and the difficulties in obtaining the news were most discouraging. For example, when the Indianapolis *Gazette* was started there was no regular mail to the town, and for the first three or four months of its existence it had to appear irregularly and as it could secure matter. Its launching, indeed, seems to have been a cause in determining the first mail line, for soon thereafter the citizens of the place held a meeting to consider the situation, decided upon establishing a route to Connersville, sixty miles away (there to connect with the government service), and themselves employed a man to carry the mail and open a post-office. After the government established a regular route the delays necessitated by bad roads were multiplied by indirect and circuitous carriage. An editorial in the *Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide* about that time complains that its exchanges, instead of coming as directly as possible, were carried by round-about routes and got to their destination usually two weeks later than need be, and this fortnight, added to the several days that "need be" by the best possible service of the day, gives an idea of the antiquity of most of the "news" when it reached the readers. The great source of the foreign intelligence was, of course, the exchange which had already served its readers at points farther east or south, and so the interior readers were a stage further removed from the actual events of the world.

Of the exchanges drawn upon, that most frequently quoted is *Niles' Weekly Register*, a most excellent and valuable compendium of news and history, which comprised a wide range of subjects. This periodical, a weekly publication of sixteen octavo pages,

was issued at Baltimore from September 7, 1811, to August 27, 1836, by Hezekiah Niles, and from that date to June 27, 1849, was continued by a son, W. O. Niles. Among the journals of that day it stood alone as a repository of all sorts of information proper to a paper of its kind. It is to-day one of our most valuable collections of records, and as such is prized by historians. Fifty bound volumes of the work may be found in the State Library.

NAMES OF PAPERS.

The names of papers in Indiana have been exceedingly varied, but a dozen or so have been distinct favorites. Of these, *Herald* and *Gazette* are perhaps most in evidence, with *Democrat*, *Times*, *Sentinel*, *Journal*, and (a little later) *Republican*, following hard after. *Banner*, *Register*, *Chronicle*, *Courier*, *Statesman* and *Observer* also make something of a showing. The name *Telegraph* appears at least three years before the introduction of Morse's method of telegraphy, and a number of *Republicans* were in the field years before the birth of the *Republican* party, which in turn gave name to so many papers. Of unusual names a list might be given, a few of which are *The Comet*, *The Western Constellation*, *The Corkscrew*, *The Dog-Fennel Gazette*, *The Budget of Fun*, *The Whig Rifle*, *The Coon-Skinner*, *The Locomotive*, *The Busy World*, *The Indiana Blade*, *The Chronotype*, *The Broad Axe of Freedom*, *The People's Friend* and *The Hoosier*. The first one with the last-mentioned name was launched at Greencastle by ex-Governor James B. Ray and W. M. Tannehill, as early as 1833.

NOTES.

1.—The *Indianapolis Sentinel* is often referred back to the *Gazette* of 1822 as its beginning, but this is certainly by a liberal construction as to what constitutes newspaper identity. The *Indiana Democrat*, which immediately succeeded the *Gazette*, was not a continuance of the latter sheet. Smith and Bolton, of the *Gazette*, dissolved partnership in 1829, and a letter from each in the issue of July 23, sets forth the reason. Smith wished to support Andrew Jackson. The *Gazette* had from the beginning been non-partizan, and Bolton wished to continue this policy. Smith further announces himself as one of several who proposed

to establish "in this place" a new paper, to be called *The Jacksonian*. No paper by this name appeared, but *The Indiana Democrat*, occupying the proposed field, did appear in 1830, and at once swallowed up the *Gazette*. It thus had a separate origin and was brought into existence for a new purpose. Bolton was subsequently one of the proprietors of this paper. Even the relationship between the *Democrat* and the *Sentinel*, which succeeded it in 1841, is by no means so clear as is generally supposed, for the first issue of the *Sentinel* is Vol. I, No. 1, and in the "prolegomena" of that number it is evidently regarded as the launching of a new paper.

2.—The *Northwestern Pioneer*, established at South Bend in 1831 by John D. and Joseph H. Defrees, is often cited as the first paper north of the Wabash river. It should be noted that the *Pottawattomie and Miami Times*, started at Logansport by John Scott in 1829, was north of, or at least on the north bank of the Wabash. There are various loose statements as to the dates of founding of several papers now existing. The *Richmond Palladium*, dating back to 1831, claims to be the oldest, barring the *Western Sun*. Earlier dates are claimed by the *Vevay Revielle*, 1817; the *Terre Haute Express*, 1823; the *Lafayette Journal*, 1829; and perhaps by others. It may be noted that of the three papers last mentioned, none is included by those names in the list of 1833, given below. The *Western Register*, of Terre Haute, was established in 1823, but had either ceased to be or had changed to *The Wabash Courier* by 1833, as that is the only Terre Haute paper given in said list. The *Courier* probably became the *Express* in 1840, as the name of Thomas Dowling is connected with both of them. The *Register*, of 1823, was founded by John W. Osborne, one of the most notable of the early journalists of Indiana.

3.—What is probably the first directory of Indiana newspapers ever compiled is to be found in a gazetteer of 1833, published by Douglass & Maguire, proprietors of the *Indiana Journal*. This table, compiled by newspaper men, whose exchange list seems to have included all the papers of the State as they appeared, was doubtless not only correct but practically a full list of the publications then in existence. As such it is a document of value, and I give it in full:

A TABLE CONTAINING A LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE STATE OF INDIANA, PLACES WHERE PUBLISHED, AND THE NAMES OF THE PUBLISHERS.

Indiana Journal, Indianapolis, Douglass & Maguire.
Indiana Democrat, Indianapolis, Morrison & Bolton.
Western Times, Centreville, Hall & Boon.
Fort Wayne Sentinel, Fort Wayne, Tigar & Noel.
Richmond Palladium, Richmond, D. P. Holloway.
Liberty Portfolio, Liberty, Leviston & Walters.
Star and Sentinel, Philomath, S. Tizzard.
Indiana American, Brookville, C. F. Clarkson.
Indiana Palladium, Lawrenceburg, D. V. Cully.
Western Statesman, Lawrenceburg, D. S. Major.
Switzerland Monitor, Vevay, R. Ransdall.
Weekly Messenger, Printer's Retreat, Keen & Child.
Indiana Republican, Madison, Arion & Lodge.
New Albany Gazette, New Albany, Henry Collins.
Western Courant, Corydon, Ladd & Jones.
Paoli Times, Paoli, W. A. Bowles.
Annotator, Salem, Allen & May.
Far West, Bloomington, Brandon & Deal.
Columbus Chronicle, Columbus, L. L. Dunkin.
Western Sun, Vincennes, Elihu Stout.
Vincennes Gazette, Vincennes, R. Y. Caddington.
Wabash Courier, Terre Haute, Thomas Dowling.
Wabash Herald, Rockville, Marts & Comingore.
Lafayette Free Press, Lafayette, J. B. Semans.
Wabash Mercury, Lafayette, R. R. Houston.
Cass County Times, Logansport, Scott & Burns.
Record, Crawfordsville, I. F. Woods.
Federal Union, Knightstown, James Silver.
Democratic Republican, Shelbyville, Churchman & Kendall.

ADDENDA.

Since writing the above I have found a copy of the *Western Eagle*, Madison. This paper dates back to 1813, and probably was the second one established in Indiana Territory.

Perhaps the only copy in existence of the first paper issued in Indianapolis (No. 1 of the *Indianapolis Gazette*), is in the pos-

session of Mr. George T. Porter, of Indianapolis. In the *Indianapolis Press*, December 19, 1899, is an interesting account of this pioneer sheet, with matter quoted from its columns.

The *Indianapolis Gazette* from 1824 to its period of ceasing, and also the *Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide* (complete), the forerunner of the *Indiana Journal*, are in the City Library of Indianapolis. This library has by far the fullest collection in existence of Indianapolis newspapers. Locked in these files is matter of inestimable value in its relation to the development of the city. Unfortunately, the incomplete and wholly inadequate catalogue furnished by the library is practically no guide to the collection, and does not even indicate the presence in it of some of its rarest possessions; hence the usefulness of the collection is by no means what it might be.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

THE FIRST PRINTERS IN INDIANAPOLIS.

GEORGE SMITH AND NATHANIEL BOLTON.

From The Indianapolis Sentinel, August 27, 1899.

GEORGE SMITH was born in Lancaster, Pa., and while quite young learned the printing trade with one of the Bradfords, the colonial printers in Pennsylvania. In the earlier part of this century he removed from Philadelphia to Chillicothe, O., and while living there married Mrs. Nancy Bolton, a widow, whose maiden name was Cox. She was a sister of Nathaniel Cox, one of the early pioneers and hunters of Indianapolis. "Uncle Nat Cox," as he was familiarly called, was a carpenter by trade, but was excessively fond of hunting, and in his day had no equal in central Indiana as a first-class "shot" with the rifle, the only species of firearms then in use in the West.

Mrs. Bolton's only child by her first husband was Nathaniel Bolton, who was born in Chillicothe, O., July 25, 1803. Elizabeth Smith, his half-sister, was born in the same town February 17, 1809. Her father had become the owner of a printing office, which was, almost always, in the same house in which they lived. Mr. Smith was a man of fair education, very industrious,

a master of the art of printing, a good writer, of untiring energy, and was well liked by all of his acquaintance. Like all printers of that period and some of later years, he was by force of circumstances and disposition unsettled as to location, often going from one town to another, not only as a mere journeyman printer, but as the owner and publisher of his own newspaper.

The daughter Elizabeth grew up to be a remarkably intelligent and observing woman, of clear memory, full of wit and humor, whose conversations relating to the early settlement of Indianapolis were always interesting to listeners. A short time before her death she noted down in a book many interesting particulars of her earlier life, and it is from this book, now in possession of her daughter, Mrs. Maria Goldsberry Tanner, of this city, widow of the late Major Gordon Tanner, and mother of George G. Tanner, of the firm of Tanner & Sullivan and late surveyor of customs at Indianapolis, that many of the incidents herein related have been obtained by the kind permission of Mrs. Tanner. Elizabeth's earliest recollections were of the printing office, wherein most of her childhood was spent. She was probably the first female typesetter in all the western country. When she was about three or four years old her father moved to Worthington, a small place near Columbus, O., and then back again to Chillicothe. At this place the family lived quite a while, Nathaniel going to school to a Presbyterian minister, receiving some instruction. His practical education, however, was in the printing office. The little girl took great delight in helping her father and brother in the printing office as much as her age would permit.

In 1820 Mr. Smith caught the emigration fever. The "new purchase" of land from the Indians in the neighboring State of Indiana was then attracting much attention, and Mr. Smith determined to leave Ohio and try his fortune in the Hoosier State. At Cincinnati he arranged for passage down the Ohio river on the steam packet General Pike, but was compelled to cancel the contract and change his plans of travel by reason of the timidity of Mrs. Smith, who, on first seeing a steamboat, declared she would not go aboard of what seemed to her a dangerous craft. While there they all visited Wells's type foundry, which was a novelty and a great object of interest to Nathaniel and Elizabeth,

they witnessing for the first time the process of making moveable types.

Other means of transportation than that of steamboat was obtained, Mr. Smith arranging for the accommodation of his own and another family on an Allegheny river timber boat from Olean, N. Y., and on this they floated down the river quite comfortably. The rude craft had fireplaces at each end large enough to do their cooking. Uncle Nat Cox steered the vessel. On reaching Ghent, Ky., the rough weather compelled a "tie up," and the occupants went ashore, where they were entertained a few days by a family of former acquaintance in Chillicothe. The storm abating, they returned to the boat and floated down to Jeffersonville without further delay or trouble.

At Jeffersonville a wagon was hired in which they proceeded to Corydon, the then seat of government of the new State. Not liking the place, Mr. Smith arranged for a partnership with a Mr. Brandon, and, returning to Jeffersonville, they opened a book and job printing office, in which Mr. Smith made more than expenses. His objective point on first coming to Indiana was the capital of the State, the location of which had in 1820 been settled by the commissioners fixing it at the junction of Fall creek and White river, and naming the town Indianapolis. The family remained in Jeffersonville during the summer of 1821, awaiting the announcement of the first sale of lots at the capital. The lots having been surveyed and laid out, the first sale was held in October, 1821. Mr. Smith attended this sale, walking all the way there and back. He purchased two lots, on one of which stood a buckeye cabin built by a squatter, who, getting homesick, deserted it and returned to his home in Kentucky.

Some weeks after Mr. Smith's return he removed the family and his little printing office and some "plunder" to Indianapolis, the journey being a remarkable one. Inside of a large four-horse wagon was stored the type, cases, stands, press and other materials of a primitive printing office, a meager lot of household effects and wearing apparel, and the family, or rather such of them as rode, the male members walking most of the way. The route was over a "blazed trail." The only towns they passed through were Paoli, Bedford and Brownstown. The remaining portion of the journey was made through an unbroken

wilderness of dense growth, wholly unsettled. They camped out two nights during a heavy snowstorm and suffered other privations.

Late one cold, stormy night, about two weeks before Christmas, they drew up in front of their cabin and took possession. With plenty of wood, they soon had a good fire and their first supper in Indianapolis. This was served on a store goods box for a table, with smaller boxes for seats, there being but one chair in the house. The little cabin had but one room, which served for the printing office, bed-room, dining-room and kitchen. Elizabeth describes her bedstead as having been made of two old sugar troughs with rails and short boards laid crossways, on which was placed a good feather bed "made up nice." The father and mother's bed was composed of two buckeye logs and rails, overlaid with brush. With the printing press and stands for two sets of type cases but little room was left for lodging, cooking and eating; but they managed to make themselves comfortable, though compactly housed. A Dr. Scudder, who had his office in a near-by cabin, kindly let them fix up a bed there for Uncle Nat Cox and a journeyman printer who had been hired for a while.

Thus was inaugurated the first printing office from which was issued the *Indianapolis Gazette*, the first newspaper ever published in the new town of Indianapolis, the proprietor of which was the editor, publisher and printer all combined in himself. Writing his own editorials, he would then set them up in type, make up the forms and work off the paper on a two-pull Ramage hand press. The forms were inked by hand with buckskin balls stuffed with wool and greased with coon oil to soften them when not in use. The composition rollers were then unknown. The first or outside forms of two pages were printed the first part of the week and the corresponding inside forms were struck off usually on Friday and the paper circulated Saturday morning.

Nathaniel Bolton had remained in New Albany to finish some work on printing the laws of the State. After completing this job, he found a man going to Indianapolis with a lot of horses, who allowed him to ride one, and on reaching there he joined Mr. Smith in the work of the publication of the *Gazette*, and afterward became first a partner and then sole proprietor.

The first residence and printing office herein described was on Maryland street, just below the crossing of Missouri street, and between that place and the old cemetery Mr. Smith opened up a fine sugar camp.

During the winter of 1821-'22 Elizabeth Smith, then about thirteen years old, learned to set type, and did considerable work in assisting her father and brother in getting out the paper. In 1824 her father bought a lot cornering on Georgia and Tennessee streets, on which now stands St. John's Cathedral and other buildings connected with that parish. On this lot he built a house into which he moved the printing office and residence. After this removal Elizabeth quit typesetting.

This same year Washington and Meridian streets were opened and the trees, stumps and undergrowth removed. The first courthouse was built about the same time, and in it was held the first legislative session at the new capital.

Mr. Smith soon after became a judge of the Marion circuit court, retiring from the printing business and surrendering the proprietorship of the *Gazette* to his step-son, Nathaniel Bolton. As a judicial officer he served with great ability and fairness. Mr. Smith died April 10, 1836, after a lingering illness, aged fifty-two. According to his last request he was buried at Mt. Jackson, the name given to the farm on which he last resided. The remains were afterward removed to Greenlawn cemetery.

Mr. Bolton succeeded to the ownership of this farm, and here he and his wife, Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton, kept a tavern for nine years. At the same time Mr. Bolton kept up his journalistic work, while Mrs. Bolton wrote many of her earliest poems during the leisure hours from the labors incident to the farm and tavern. In the fall of 1845 Mr. Bolton sold to the State the farm as a site for the Indiana Hospital for the Insane, the selling price being \$5,300.

The difficulties of obtaining news at the commencement of Mr. Smith's newspaper enterprise were great. The nearest post-office was Connersville, sixty miles away. The enterprising publisher however, established a private mail, employing a man to go there every four weeks to bring the letters and newspapers.

In December, 1822, President James Monroe sent to Congress one of his short messages, a copy of which reached Indianapolis

in February, 1823, and was published in instalments in two or three succeeding numbers of the *Gazette*.

Soon after a regular United States mail route was established, and then mails reached Indianapolis from the East every two weeks, unless detained by high waters.

Mr. Smith's father brought in a wagon from Springfield, O., driven by himself, the white paper on which the first issues of the *Gazette* were printed. After Mr. Bolton became sole proprietor in 1824 the *Gazette* office was removed, first to a house on the corner of Washington and Tennessee streets on the State House square, and then to the south side of Washington street a few doors west of the court-house.

When I came to Indianapolis in 1837, a boy of nine years of age, I made the acquaintance of Mr. Bolton and his partner, John Livingston, the proprietors of the *Democrat*, and for a few years worked in their printing office as a roller boy, printer's devil and carrier of the paper. At that time the old double-pull Ramage press was still in the office, and many a time have I inked the forms thereon, as a roller boy. This work was then done with rollers made of glue and molasses, in the molding of which I always had a hand. During my employment I made several trips to the Mt. Jackson farm, on foot, for "copy" and "corrected proofs."

The *Indiana Democrat* was continued by that name until 1841, when George A. Chapman, publisher of a paper at Terre Haute, and Jacob Page Chapman, his brother, publisher of a paper at Evansville, purchased the *Democrat*, adding to its material all of their types and presses, and changing the name of the paper to *The Indiana State Sentinel*. They continued to own and publish the paper until 1850, when I became the purchaser of the name and good will of the paper, for which I purchased an entirely new plant of presses, types and printing materials.

AUSTIN H. BROWN.

EARLY INDIANAPOLIS.

THE FLETCHER PAPERS—THIRD INSTALMENT.

Character of the Early Settlers; High Standard of Intelligence—Mutual Helpfulness—Intellectual and Social Culture—Hunting Incident; George Smith's White Swan—Sugar-Making—Daniel Yandes's Big Log Contract.

From the Indianapolis News of June 2, 1879.

WHAT society was in Indianapolis in 1822-'23 I might illustrate very fully from the letters and journals of my parents. In a letter written to a lady in Virginia under date of January 17, 1822, my father defends Indianapolis from the exaggerated reports of a few disappointed ones—reports which for many a day gave a bad name to Indianapolis—and he afterwards speaks of the character of the early settlers. "You have been informed," he writes, "that we have a large swamp in the rear of our town. I am happy to inform you that this is not exact information. Our town, like all newly-settled places, requires seasoning before a person can be strictly healthy. I am much pleased with the inhabitants of this new purchase. As I told you in one of my letters, we have none here but independent free-holders, and a much more enlightened set of people than any other I have seen in the western country. We have all the emancipators from Kentucky, who are of the sober class. We have likewise the industry of the State, such as never owned slaves, either from poverty or conscientious scruples, and we have the thrift of Ohio. Our laws and constitution are truly Republican. Debts are easily collected; all fines on military delinquents and for misdemeanors are appropriated to the use of the county seminaries in this State."

My father's judgment of the class of people who first settled here was an intelligent one, for he was well acquainted with new towns in Virginia, some of the old towns in Pennsylvania, and with the people of Ohio in such places as Urbana, Columbus, Dayton and Bellefontaine. He therefore, when he wrote, had in mind a comparison between the inhabitants of the above-named towns in Ohio, and the early Indianapolitans when he

places the latter as "a much more enlightened set of people than any other I have seen in the west." There must have been a certain intellectual activity and a moral bent at the very outset which manifested itself not merely in political meetings but in town meetings for the promotion of civil affairs; in debating clubs for exercising, if I may so say, in mental gymnastics; in religious meetings, and in a class for the study of the Bible before a regular minister settled down to parish duties. These things make up the staple of my mother's journal. Already I have recorded the inauguration of the new year (1822) by the party at Wyant's. Now we are told how, on January 26, "Mrs. Henry Bradley came and staid with me until eleven o'clock, while Mr. Bradley and Mr. Fletcher went to the debating society." Again: "On Tuesday, the 29th of January, I attended a quilting party at Mr. Buckner's, and there met a number of ladies who were formerly from Kentucky." Individual neighborly help, as well as combined aid, was the order of the day, as we may see from the entry of January 20, viz: "Arranged some candle wick for Mrs. Foote," and, at a later date: "Had Mr. Blake get me some bean poles."

Not only were there practical mutual aid societies, but mutual improvement societies. February 18, 1822, my mother writes: "I went to Mrs. Buckner's and assisted her in finishing her quilt;" and, on Saturday, 9th of February, "Went to the singing school." The debating club is mentioned again. Then the social visits: "Monday, February 11. Took tea at Mr. Steven's, who will move to-morrow two miles into the country." "Tuesday, 12. I have had a very pressing invitation to-day to go a-visiting with Mrs. Nowland and Mrs. Bradley to Mrs. Yandes's; but I do not feel well enough to go." "Wednesday, the 13th of February. Mr. and Mrs. Paxton came and took tea with us, and then Mr. P. and Mr. F. went out hunting, returning at ten o'clock."

I suppose from the hour these pioneers went out hunting and from the shortness of their stay that they must have gone coon hunting. Coons could then be "treed" at a good many places within the limits of our solid blocks on Washington, Market, Maryland, Missouri and Meridian streets.

Among the curious hunting incidents of those days was the shooting of a swan by George Smith (our first printer). One

morning in the spring of 1822 he started for the wild woods in the vicinity of the present Kingan's pork-house, and following down the left bank of the river he saw in the water a flock of white swans. Mr. Smith succeeded in bagging the largest of the flock. My father informed me that this magnificent bird was of the most beautiful plumage and of wonderful size. This is the only visit of swans to Indianapolis that I ever heard of.

Among other of the earlier recreations must be counted the fishing excursions in the springtime, rambles after raspberries in the summer, and gathering of wild grapes in autumn. More like work were sugar-making, gardening, and the drying of pumpkins. My mother writes:

"Monday, March 10, 1822. I began sugar-making."

This was in the vicinity of Missouri street and south of Washington. Some at that time tapped the maple trees in the very heart of our present city, and others went into the dense woods north, east and south. "March 24, 1822," is the date recorded by my mother when she "walked more than a mile to a sugar-camp." This probably refers to a sugar-camp in the vicinity of Fletcher Place Church, on Virginia avenue. Here it was, according to Mr. John H. B. Nowland, that his father first "made sugar at an old Indian sugar-camp," in the spring of the previous year. In 1846 I took notes of my father in regard to the spring of 1822, and he informed me that the fine sugar grove that occupied in and around what is now known as the Governor's Circle was, in 1822, used as a sugar camp, and that the trees were tapped some five or six feet from the ground, and the troughs for catching the sugar water were scaffolded up by poles to keep the hogs from drinking nature's nectar. Mrs. Paxton, he said, made sugar from the primeval forest trees that occupied the site of our State House and contiguous portions of Washington street, while Mr. Nowland's camp was further out in the country, and they were busily engaged in boiling the water down to syrup in a grove not far from where Judge Stevens at present resides.*

Sugar-making and gardening did not prevent social visiting, which seemed to be going on every day, in the forenoon as well as the afternoon and evening. Everybody at that time called the whole of the afternoon evening.

*This probably means the old Stevens residence on New Jersey street below South.—*Editor.*

On the 13th of April my mother writes: "The waters are very high at this time, and have been for a week back. Mr. Levington and many other men have been ten miles up the river, on the public lands, cutting saw-logs for several weeks. They made a contract with Daniel Yandes to deliver him 2,000 logs at one dollar per piece, and since the rain the saw-logs are coming down the river." This, I presume, was the biggest contract up to that time made in Indianapolis. The logs were doubtless for the most part poplar and walnut.

The waters continued high for a week or more, for on the first of April it is written that "Mrs. Wick and Miss Carter went with me to the river. We had the pleasure of riding up to the mouth of Fall creek and back again to the ford on a flatboat." The "ford" was not far from the Vincennes railroad bridge.* The flatboat was the largest vessel seen on our river at this point. I can remember the flatboats that went from here with produce to "Orleans." The last that I can recall was navigated to the mouth of the Mississippi by "old Van Blaricum," the father of "Mike" and "Bill." When he returned he brought with him the first oranges and cocoanuts that ever came to Indianapolis. Old V. B. was a kind man to little children, and on his return from "Orleans" he took delight in inviting them to his house to show them his stock of tropical fruits and to gladden their child-hearts with presents.

*Berry Sulgrove speaks of this ford and also of one where the Lafayette road crosses the river (see History of Marion County, p. 13). J. H. B. Nowland (see "Prominent Citizens," p. 10) says that the mouth of Fall creek was the crossing-place of White river, long used by the Indians, and he has described to me personally a bar at the mouth of the creek at which various Indian trails converged. From this convergence one might reasonably infer that the Fall creek bar was the only fordable spot in this locality, at a day when the river flowed much more water than at present, but the using of others by our first-comers somewhat negatives this theory. Which illustrates the difficulty of getting at historical "facts."—*Editor.*

[To be continued.]

THE EARLY SCHOOLS OF INDIANA.

FROM PAPERS OF D. D. BANTA—THIRD INSTALMENT.

The Book Famine in Pioneer Days—Scarcity of School-books; Those Used—Preeminence of Spelling—The McGuffey Readers; Their Excellence—Home-made Writing Materials—The Difficulties of Arithmetic—Popular Opinion of Grammar—"Loud Schools"—The Reign of the Switch—A Few Anecdotes.

From the Indianapolis News of February 24, 1892.

HOW hungry did some who were boys here in Indiana fifty years ago become for something fresh and entertaining to read! Often have I heard that lover of good books, the late A. B. Hunter, of Franklin, tell the story of a book that was owned by a man living on the outskirts of his neighborhood. He had read everything owned by the neighbors that he cared to read, and now came the story of a new book—one unlike anything that he had thus far seen, and he was wild to get hold of it. At last there came a day when his father could spare a horse from the plow, and young Hunter went in pursuit of the new book, which was found, borrowed, and subsequently read with a zest almost unknown up to that time, for it was one of Sir Walter Scott's immortal stories.

It seems to me that scarcely any other thing so distinctly marks the difference between the present and the past of which I am writing, as the great scarcity of reading matter in that past compared with its great abundance now. I think it not too much to say that in my own "Shiloh neighborhood," all the books, excluding Bibles, hymn-books and spelling-books, owned by the neighborhood, could have been packed in a bushel basket. I call to mind "Hozzy's Life of Marion," "Trumbull's Indians," "Carey's Olive Branch," a "Natural History," "Western Adventure," a "Life of Selkirk," "Young's Night Thoughts," "Josephus," and "Pilgrim's Progress," and that was about all. No wonder if a boy living in that neighborhood would become so hungry for something to read that he had recourse to the inside of the lid of a certain big box in which was stored the family linen, that he might read the two exposed pages of a copy of the

Western Luminary that had been pasted thereon. The story may seem incredible, but that boy thus read the two pages of that old luminary many a time, and every time he did so he imagined he found a freshness in it that was charming.

But it is to the school-books, or rather want of school-books, of that time that I wish to call attention. There were comparatively few school-books published in those days. Every school child, at least after learning the letters, was expected to have a spelling-book, and Dillworth's and Webster's American were used in the beginning. The child who had not been taught his letters out of a Bible or hymn-book at home, usually brought a primer. I have, however, seen a paddle with the alphabet pasted thereon used instead of a primer or spelling-book. I never saw Dillworth's. Webster's elementary spelling-book, the most wonderfully successful strictly educational book that was ever published in America, at an early day occupied the entire field in Indiana, and practically held it until the appearance of McGuffey's Eclectic Speller, which was published somewhere about 1850. The elementary served the double purpose of spelling-book and reading-book. The old schoolmasters placed great stress on spelling. The custom, it is believed, existed universally in the country schools, at least up to and for some time after 1850, for the whole school to stand up twice a day and spell for head. A half-day in every week was given to a spelling-match, besides which night spelling-schools were of frequent occurrence. No one ever grew so large or so learned that he was exempted from the duty of spelling. I have known the head man of a long row of pupils to spell the first word without dictation, after which the next in line would spell the next word, and so on down to the foot, and then from the head on down again. The words in the elementary spelling-book were generally written in a sort of rhythmical order which made them easy to memorize. There were spellers who claimed to know the book by heart, and there were still more who claimed to be able to spell correctly every word in it.

I have said the elementary spelling-book was used as a reader as well as a speller, and so it was. On nearly every page was reading matter made up of moral sentences in each of which was usually found one or more words belonging to the annexed spell-

ing lesson. It was the practice to teach a pupil to spell first, after which he might read. Some teachers, after the scholar had learned to spell sufficiently well, required him to pronounce the words in the book at sight, and after he was able to do this sufficiently well he was formally set to reading. The "pronouncing lesson," as it was called, may have had its uses, but I have no doubt that many a pupil was reading quite well at home before being allowed to read at school. Do I not remember the first reading-lesson in the elementary spelling-book? No matter if the pupil could pronounce at sight all the words in the book, Charles Disbrow, of blessed memory (my old teacher), insisted that he who was going to take the long leap into the reading world should read the first lesson. As the boy who could read the Testament at home and pronounce all the words of the spelling-book at school stepped up to read his first and formal lesson, consisting of words of three letters, how silent that hitherto loud school would become, and how loud his own voice would sound as he read:

"She fed the hen.

"The old hen was fed by her.

"See how the hen can run."

Was ever ordeal worse than that? After the book had been read through and through, say half a dozen times, another reader was in order, provided it could be had. There were few school readers in those days. Here and there was to be found an old copy of the "English Reader" or the "Columbian Orator." Rev. George K. Hester tells us that he read a dream book and "Gulliver's Travels." I have seen Gulliver myself in the schoolroom; and so of the "Life of Marion," "Pilgrim's Progress," histories, sermon books and the Holy Bible. Henry Eaves, a pioneer schoolmaster of Switzerland county, in his extremity, took the *Frankfort Argus* into his school, which served the uses of a "reader." About 1835 B. T. Emerson's readers came into use to a limited extent. Somewhat later—five years, perhaps—McGuffey's Eclectic Series appeared and ultimately occupied the field to the exclusion of all others. The introduction of this series marked an era in the schools of the State. They were of incalculable benefit to the people of the western country. I think it not too much to say that the higher readers of the series did

more to cultivate a taste for the better American literature than any other books of that day. But for them the names of Percival, Bryant, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Irving, Paulding and other American authors of the first half-century would have been known to few indeed of the school children of Indiana of thirty and forty years ago.

The pupil having learned to read sufficiently well, he was next set to writing. The mothers usually made the copy-books by sewing a few sheets of foolscap together. The geese furnished the quills that were fashioned into pens, and the ink was home-made. Maple bark, sumach and oak balls and vinegar were the materials out of which most of the ink of that period was made. In its season pokeberry juice was sometimes used, but, notwithstanding its ornamental capabilities, its use was never very general. It was too apt to sour. The inkstands were generally home-made also. A favorite inkstand was a section of a cow's horn, sawed off and fitted with a wooden water-tight bottom. Another favorite one was made of lead or pewter. Many of the boys of the old school days understood the art of casting inkstands. The pupil's first exercise in writing was the making of "pot-hooks and hangers." In the fulness of time his teacher would set him his best round-hand copy, and in doing so he never failed of placing before the eyes of the scholar some moral or patriotic precept worthy of his remembrance, such as, "Commandments ten God gave to men;" "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty;" "Washington was the father of his country;" "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

The next thing in order for the boys was arithmetic. Not many girls gave any attention to this study. Not much was ever said about it as a girls' study, but I think it was generally considered that the girls did not have "heads for figures." Instead of arithmetic they took to geography and grammar, when they took to anything. It was the practice with a good many teachers to require their arithmetical scholars to copy all the "sums" in a "ciphering book." Mr. George Adams, who attended school in Johnson county away back in the twenties, had, a few years ago, such a book, and judging from it the writer must have understood fairly well his subject. Students in arithmetic never recited—they simply "ciphered." The teacher seldom paid

any attention to them unasked. The boys usually helped each other, but when help failed in that quarter the teacher would, on request, "work the sum." The majority of teachers thought they had done all that was necessary when that much was done. Sometimes a boy would "sneak" his arithmetic and slate into the school and "cipher" for a considerable time before the teacher discovered it. I did this myself, and traveled over addition, subtraction, multiplication and short division, before my teacher let on that he knew what I was about. I had reached long division, which I found so very hard that I broke down at it in despair. Washington Miller, my old teacher, seeing my trouble, came to me, and without any reproaching gave the needed assistance, and thence on I was recognized as an arithmetical student. My friend, Mr. Hunter, who is mentioned above, went to school to a teacher who did not pretend to teach arithmetic beyond the "single rule of three." Young Hunter had advanced beyond that. He took his seat in the schoolhouse, however, and ciphered away till he went through the book. There was a greater variety of arithmetics than any other school-book. Pike's was the one most generally in use. The familiar pages of a copy of this old veteran are now before me. Their matter consists of abstract rules and of examples. I am not much surprised that I stalled on the long division hill on that school day so long past. "Take for the first dividend as few of the left hand figures of the dividend as will contain the divisor, try how often they will contain it, and set the number of times on the right of the dividend," and so on. Not a word of explanation; no development of the process; nothing but the abstract rule. The other arithmetics of the time were Smiley's, Bennett's, Jess's, Dillworth's, Western Calculator, and probably some others. Smith's and Ray's appeared shortly before 1840, and in five or six years the latter had the field.

The geographies used were Moore's, Woodbridge's, Smith's and Olney's. These were the only school-books illustrated save the few pictures in the spelling-books, and there were very few children who did not delight to turn the leaves of a geography and look at its pictures. Lindley Murray's English grammar was the first in the field; after that came Kirkham's. There was not much studying of either geography or grammar in the

early days. As to the former, it was considered a proper enough study if one had the time to spare for it, but by some the study of the latter was deemed useless waste of time. As late as 1845 the trustees of Vevay in employing a teacher required in the written contract that he should "not teach grammar."

From the News of March 16.

The first schools I attended were "loud schools." Loud schools were the rule in the beginning here in Indiana; silent ones were the exception. The odds in the argument were believed to be in favor of the loud school. A celebrated Scotch teacher, Alexander Kinmont, of Cincinnati, as late as 1837, would conduct school by no other method. He claimed that it is the practical, philosophical system by which boys can be trained for business on a steamboat wharf or any other place. Both boys and girls spelled and read at the tops of their voices, on occasion, and sometimes the roar of their lesson-getting could be heard for a half to three-quarters of a mile. It is not much wonder that Owen Davis took his fiddle to school and solaced himself by playing airs while his scholars were shouting over their lessons. The teacher of a loud school who would keep his pupils at work labored under a great disadvantage. The idler who was roaring at one word, or over a line of poetry, or trumpeting through his nose, was, for aught the teacher knew, committing his lesson. It was said of one boy in an Orange county school that he "repeated the one word 'heptorpy' from morning till noon and from noon till night in order to make the teacher believe that he was studying his lesson."

Fifty or a hundred years ago the swishing of the switch was heard everywhere, in the family circle and in the schoolhouse, throughout the length and breadth of the land. The fathers made their children "mind." The switch was the usual instrument, and its prompt and free use doubtless gave birth to such expressive phrases as "a lick and a promise," "the word with the bark on," and "tan your jacket." The schoolmaster, standing in the place of the parent, punished as freely and savagely, and usually with the full approval of the parent. One of the most curious phases of the flagellating period was the almost universal prevalence of the sentiment that the schoolmaster who neglected the frequent use of the rod was a failure as a teacher. I had a friend who, much less than fifty years ago, was in the

habit of occasionally playing pedagogue. In one of his schools he had a nice company of country urchins, between whom and himself there was the very best of feeling. After the school had run smoothly for a month or six weeks and no whipping done, his patrons began to think something was wrong. One morning one of them met him and bluntly told him that he was making a mistake—that he was “not whipping anybody.” “Why, who’ll I whip?” he asked. “Whip Sam,” was the prompt answer. “What for? He’s lazy, I know; but I can’t whip him for laziness, can I?” asked the pedagogue. “Yes, give it to him. Sam’s my boy and I know he needs it every day.”

Now and then the circumstances were so ludicrous that the master’s punishment, instead of inspiring terror, provoked laughter. I once heard a story told on a Johnson county teacher to this effect: He was in the habit of opening his school with prayer. His pupils, for some reason distrusting his sincerity, sometimes during the services would wink and smile and even snicker out. One morning he carried an empty flour sack to school which he put on the seat beside him, and while he was praying that morning, the irreverent conduct of two or three of the larger boys attracting his attention, he broke off his prayer and, seizing the empty sack, he struck each of the misbehaving lads over the shoulders, powdering them all over with the white flour, after which he concluded his prayer. Mr. Chute was an eminent schoolmaster in Evansville at an early day, who opened his school with prayer. He always stood, with a “long fishing cane in his hand,” and prayed with his eyes open. “When he caught a boy in mischief during prayer he would stop short and call out: ‘Woe be to you, John,’ and strike him over the shoulder with his long cane, and then resume his prayer.” Another and similar but better story than either of the others comes from Pleasant township in Switzerland county. An old gentleman by the name of Curry taught in that township for several years. “He was a widower and married man by turns.” Once when in the former state he went to the schoolhouse early in the morning to write a love-letter. When the pupils came he carelessly left it on his desk and proceeded to open school with prayer. Kneeling down he prayed with his “whip in his right hand and his right eye open.” One of the boys, stealing up to the desk where the

love-letter lay, began reading it; but ere he was aware the old man broke off in the middle of a sentence and, collaring him, gave him a sound thrashing, after which, adds the historian, "he resumed his devotions with equanimity.

It was the custom to whip on the slightest provocation, and not infrequently without any provocation at all. There is scarcely a county in the State that has not had, at one time or another, its teacher who would drink to intoxication on Saturday and soundly thrash every scholar in the school on Monday. The neighborhoods are full of the traditions of the savagery of the old schoolmasters. The schoolhouses fairly bristled with switches cut from the neighboring thickets. According to the historian of Morgan county, "these old instruments of punishment were always present and usually hung on wooden hooks over the old fireplace, so that they became so hardened by seasoning from the heat that they resisted the severest exercise of the teacher in an application on some offending pupil, and even cut the wooden benches as the teacher in his fervor pursued round and round the howling culprit." I read of a Bartholomew county schoolmaster who "kept his switches standing in the corner or lying on pegs in the wall, but the cat-o'-nine-tails lay in the desk. He punished with the former and terrified with the latter." A Martinsville schoolmaster flogged his pupils, it is said, on the least provocation, with a "long hickory gad, well-seasoned in the hot embers of the fire."

It would be a mistake to infer that there were no other punishments, save corporal, given in those days. The "dunce block," the "fool's cap," the "leather spectacles," "bringing up the switch," "standing in the corner," "standing on one foot," "sitting on the girls' side," and any and all other schemes the wit of the old schoolmaster could devise were tried. I remember to have seen a teacher remove a puncheon from its place in the floor and incarcerate a big girl in the "hole under the floor," which had been dug for clay to make the hearth, jambs and backwalls of the fireplace. I shall never forget how he pushed her fingers off the edges of the floor when he fitted the puncheon back in its place.

[*To be continued.*]

BERRY R. SULGROVE, JOURNALIST.

[These sketches from the *Journal and News*, of Indianapolis, were published at the time of Mr. Sulgrove's death, which occurred February 20, 1890.]

From the Journal.

BERRY R. SULGROVE was born in Indianapolis March 16, 1827, and was the oldest child of James and Katherine Sulgrove. His first schooling was at the age of five years, Miss Clarissa Ellick, who taught in the old Baptist Church at the corner of Meridian and Maryland streets, being his teacher. He received the rudiments of his education in the different private schools of the city, there being at that time no public schools here. In 1839 he entered the old County Seminary, on University Square, which was conducted by James S. Kemper, and continued his studies there five years. He then entered his father's harness and saddlery shop, and learned that trade. This was in 1844, when Henry Clay and James K. Polk were opposing candidates for the presidency. In 1847 Mr. Sulgrove entered Bethany College, West Virginia, then under the presidency of Alexander Campbell. His principal collegiate course covered branches which he had studied at the old seminary, and he was enabled to graduate in one year, notwithstanding the fact that three months of that period were devoted to teaching. There were five departments in the college, and he secured first and second honor in each. He was "first honor man" of the college, taking those of all departments—the first time such a circumstance had ever happened in that institution. He made his graduating speech in Greek.

In 1848, returning to his home in this city, he began the study of law, with the late Oliver H. Smith and Simon Yandes. After three years he formed a partnership with John Caven, afterwards mayor of the city, and they practised together until the winter of 1854-'5. He then, with the late John D. Defrees, took editorial charge of *The Indianapolis Journal*. He had previously written much for the press, having contributed considerable matter over the *nom de plume* of "Timothy Tugmutton" to vari-

ous publications. In 1850 he wrote sketches of the constitutional convention for *The Locomotive*, then published in this city. He next contributed to *The Hoosier City*, a small paper published by young men then connected with the *Journal*, and also wrote considerable matter for the columns of the last-named paper. This preceded the time of his regular connection with the paper.

When Mr. Sulgrove first became connected with the *Journal* he did work now divided into a number of departments—writing leaders, general news items, local matter, convention and meeting reports, as well as copying telegraph news after the old style. He inaugurated the system of covering the night's news for the paper of the following morning, and introduced the first verbatim reports ever used by the local papers. At this time he frequently worked nineteen out of twenty-four hours. In 1856 he bought sufficient stock in the paper to give him a majority of the shares. He sold out in 1863, intending to go to Europe, but was prevented and continued as editor of the *Journal*. In 1864 he accompanied Morton and McDonald through the State in their joint canvass for Governor, reporting the discussions for the *Journal*. He served later as Governor Morton's private secretary. In 1866 he returned to the editorial charge of the *Journal*, in which he continued for several years afterward, and with intervals he had been connected with the paper nearly twenty-five years. He took service with the *News* when that paper was established, and continued with it until ill-health precluded his doing further literary work.

Mr. Sulgrove was one of the most remarkable men this city and State have ever known. As an editorial writer during the war he wielded an influence in the West that was second to none, and he was from first to last the mainstay and adviser of the great War Governor of Indiana. While modestly keeping himself in the background, he was ready with his opinion and counsel when asked, and they were always weighty. He was sometimes likened to Horace Greeley as a journalist, but the comparison hardly did Mr. Sulgrove justice, for, with the brilliancy of Mr. Greeley, he was never eccentric, but always steady and mature, no politician ever being led into blunders by following his counsel or leadership. In his youth he was a Whig, but on the foundation of the Republican party was one of the first to

lift the standard of the new party, and, with his ready pen, gave utterance to the sublime sentiments of freedom.

While in his later years Mr. Sulgrove wrote for several papers, and on a variety of subjects, it was a noticeable fact that he would never write anything he did not thoroughly believe, and especially was he conscientious upon political topics, and never at any time would he write except from a Republican standpoint. As to versatility, he could, at a moment's notice, write upon almost any topic. A publisher once had a cut representing a covey of quails. Mr. Sulgrove was shown the engraving and asked if he could write something to "fit it." He at once sat down and wrote an article upon the quail and its habits, gathered from his own observation, together with a number of anecdotes and incidents of this bird, that would have done credit to the research of a Wilson or an Audubon. As a matter of fact, no naturalist has, in the same number of lines, ever written so entertainingly and, at the same time, so instructively, and the article, or pieces of it, were for years floating about in the various papers and magazines of the land.

From his earliest childhood his powers of observation were wonderfully keen, and continued in full exercise all his life. He was a great walker, a close student of nature, and was always seeing things in the fields and woods. As a boy he was full of life, a rover of the woods and a saunterer by the streams. He and General Lew Wallace were boys together, and it is said that they lay in White river all summer. From the time that he began to go to school, through the old Marion County Seminary and at Bethany College, he was looked upon as an Admirable Crichton, knowing everything, able to do anything. In the early days of Indianapolis he was looked upon as the orator of the town; at the same time he was the head of a company of Thespians of no mean merit, and a little later on was the captain of the Marion fire company, in the days of the old volunteer service.

There seemed no limit to his knowledge, and his acquisitions were in all manner of fields. His memory has for nearly half a century been the talk of the town. It was said that he never forgot anything he had ever seen or heard. He carried tables of election returns about in his head and when called upon could tell how any county went and frequently could surprise a ques-

tioner by giving the exact vote in some obscure precinct. One of his feats of memory quite surprised Professor Mitchell, the noted astronomer, who delivered a lecture here when this place was young. Mr. Sulgrove was present, heard the lecture and gave the *Journal* a full report of it. He did not have a scrap of paper to take a note, and the figures of the lecture were given with absolute accuracy. This was before the art of stenography had come to the West, but with such a verbatim memory short-hand would appear to be unnecessary.

Mr. Sulgrove went to Europe with Governor Morton in 1866. At Paris, sitting at dinner with a number of distinguished gentlemen who had called upon Governor Morton, a discussion arose about a quotation from Horace. Governor Morton himself was not interested, as he made no pretensions to scholarship of that character, but a couple of British gentlemen were much in earnest about the matter. As the discussion did not seem like coming to an end, Mr. Sulgrove, begging their pardon, asked to set them right. He not only gave the quotation, but quoted a half a page or more of the matter of which it was a part, and the Britons looked upon the quiet gentleman, who had so unexpectedly displayed such scholarship and memory, in wonder. At Rome, where he made a long sojourn, he was known as "the learned American." He appeared to acquire the Italian language in a few weeks, and spoke it readily, even with the rabble of the place, mastering even the *patois* of the fruit-sellers, fishermen and beggars. The sculptor, Rogers, who had lived in Rome twenty years, met Mr. Sulgrove there. Speaking of the wonderful acquirements of the man, he said he found Mr. Sulgrove, who had just arrived, knew a great deal more of Rome, both ancient and modern, than he did.

There was a vein of humor in Mr. Sulgrove's conversation, which at times appeared in his writing. One of the best examples of this, coupled with satire, a weapon he seldom used, was given in an editorial, many years ago, the *Journal*, in which he dissected a then recent speech of Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees. The article bore the heading, "The Oratorical Rooster," and the writer began with narrating that in his youth he was the happy possessor of a most remarkable rooster. This chanticler was possessed of two legs of unequal length, one being a pre-

ternaturally short leg and the other a supernaturally long leg. "When he stood upon his long leg and scratched with his short leg," the article continued, "he fell short of the object scratched for; when he stood upon his short leg and scratched with his long leg he went beyond the object scratched for." With this beginning, he took up Mr. Voorhees's speech and dissected it, paragraph after paragraph, with running comments, adding here and there, "Here he scratched with his short leg" and "there he scratched with his long leg," making the application in a way that caused the article to go through the party press from one end of the State to the other. Mr. Sulgrove dearly delighted to have a foeman worthy of his steel, and for that reason, in the days when personal journalism was indulged to greater length than now, he was always more than pleased to have a tilt at Mr. Hendricks or Mr. McDonald. Withal, he was so genial and bore so little personal rancor that not the bitterest Democrat held any abiding enmity toward him. He was, despite of his great attainments, perhaps because of them, the most modest of men, firm in his friendship, and of the finest and tenderest sensibility. The death of George C. Harding, ten years ago, struck him with great force. He could not nerve himself to go to the funeral, nor even to come to the office where they had so often met and talked, for many days afterward.

From the News.

Mr. Sulgrove was the first editor to appreciate the value of news. It was the custom when he took charge of the *Journal* to set up all the matter during the day, lock up the forms by 6 o'clock and leave them ready for the pressman to work off the next morning. An event occurring after 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, no matter how important, never was mentioned in the paper until the second day. One night a fire occurred that was large for the town, and Mr. Sulgrove, procuring a printer or two, wrote an account of it, got it into the form, and the readers the next morning were amazed to see the report. This led to other work of the same kind, and from that time on people were not compelled to wait thirty-six hours to hear of important events.

In 1869, when the *News* was started, he became a member of the staff and has served as such ever since. He was also a contributor, more or less regularly, to other papers both here and

elsewhere, and did a great deal of work for individuals, including the writing of much of "Holloway's Indianapolis," and the entire authorship of "The History of Indianapolis and Marion County," published in 1884. On all subjects pertaining to the history, growth and appearance of Indianapolis and vicinity, as well as of the people who made the city, he was a great reservoir of knowledge, and to his pen we owe it that much that would soon be forgotten has been put into permanent form.

RECOLLECTIONS OF D. L. PAINE.

Mr. D. L. Paine, long an associate of Mr. Sulgrove, contributes this sketch:

I have known Berry R. Sulgrove somewhat intimately for thirty years, having been brought into close contact with him as compositor, proof-reader and associate in editorial work a large part of that time. He was a man of great force of character and quaint originality. While not profoundly learned in any direction, his available knowledge of almost everything was wonderful. In mind, as in personal appearance, he was unique. His friends were among all classes. He would chat pleasantly with the ignorant or vicious denizen of hell's half-acre, or discuss the precession of the equinoxes with the learned savant; sing a song to kindred company in a lounging-room, or coddle his dear old violin in his own study. He was the counselor of governors and statesmen, and the friend and associate of vagrants. He could invest a story with absorbing interest simply by his manner of telling it, or dismiss an absurd proposition in too forceful and not always polite words. The boyish, eager look in his roundly opened eyes when a matter of interest came to him, the comic expression which overspread his whole countenance in relating a joke, his quick staccato movements and nervous utterances, will be recalled by those who knew him in his prime. He was careless of personal appearance and brusque in manner, but genial, and even playful, with his intimates. Given to wide and lonely wanderings, he knew every stranded log on the river bank, and every lichen and fern-frond for miles around as familiar acquaintances.

Seated at his desk in his earlier editorial days, his knees wide apart, with his toes touching the floor in the rear of his chair,

displaying the soles of his feet, his shoulders rounded up Atlas-like, looking over his spectacles with his forehead nearly touching the sheet upon which he was tracing microscopic characters, perhaps humming a tune or whistling softly, he presented an appearance quite striking if not grotesque. His handwriting was peculiar. In the old days, when he edited the *Journal*, but two compositors in the office could decipher his chirography, and a list of the laughable blunders they often made hung upon the wall. He was given to outlandish expressions, as for instance, a valueless thing "was not worth the butt-cut of a hog-weed." In his best days his list of correspondents contained many names known to science, politics and society. He traveled for a time in Europe, and his letters, if collected, would make an interesting volume. Taken in every respect, he was the most striking figure in the list of Indiana journalists.

OTHER STORIES.

Mr. Sulgrove was constantly giving away something from his prodigious store of knowledge that was worth knowing. His acquaintances are full of stories illustrating his characteristics. Colonel Holloway, in speaking of him, said that there was nothing he couldn't do. "I can beat you shooting, Berry," he said to him once in New York, as they approached a shooting stand. But Berry hit the bull's eye three times in succession, though he shot with glasses. "Where did you learn to shoot?" the colonel asked. "I picked it up when I was a boy." He had knowledge of music and played the flute and the violin well.

Once the force at the *Journal*, early in the fifties, decided to go fishing on Sunday, and, that there might be no interruption with the program, closed the forms and ran off Monday's paper at 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon. Sulgrove was in a barber-shop getting shaved when the carrier came along crying out the paper and delivering the Monday edition. "See here, Mr. Sulgrove," said some one present, "what kind of a paper is this that purports to give the Monday news in Saturday's edition?" "What's that," exclaimed the editor, and on finding what was being done he ran out into the street with the barber's tools clinging to him, overtook the carrier and compelled him to go back and gather up all the papers distributed. The fishing party was broken up.

It never seemed to be necessary for Mr. Sulgrove to consult authorities. He had everything in his head. Judge Chapman once had the editors arrested for contempt in publishing forbidden evidence in the Clem case. An able lawyer was employed by the Court to defend its course. The lawyer cited the authorities *ad libitum* and was very profound. Late at night Colonel Holloway sent for Mr. Sulgrove, had the lawyer's voluminous address read to him from short-hand notes, and asked for an editorial in refutation. This Sulgrove wrote promptly—nearly two columns—"skinning" the attorney so effectually that he came to the *Journal* next day and admitted that he had been beautifully, thoroughly and legally flayed. The accuracy of his memory has been often tested. When he was in Paris he confounded the sexton of a certain burial place by telling him that a certain noted character was buried next to such and such a tomb. "I read the description years ago," said he, and when the sexton looked, the grave was found.

Said Mr. E. H. Perkins, foreman of the *News* composing room: "Mr. Sulgrove was known by the printers all over the country. He had the reputation of writing almost as bad a hand as Horace Greeley, but this reputation was not due him. On the contrary he wrote the best 'copy' that ever came to me. It had its peculiarities, but these were offset by the absolute accuracy and infinite pains with which it had been prepared. In all my years of acquaintance with his writing I do not remember to have seen one misspelled word. He was thorough. All the printer had to do was to 'follow copy.' It was always properly capitalized, punctuated and paragraphed. He was one of the most agreeable men the printers had to do with. He never became impatient nor quarreled over mistakes. His copy was peculiar, as he wrote a very fine hand and scorned good paper. He would write on backs of envelopes, on election tickets of twenty years standing, on circulars and bits of brown paper. Sometimes he would write across the face of printed matter and this would make the copy hard on the eye for old men, but the younger men never had any trouble in deciphering him, and proof of his matter was generally the cleanest in the office. Of late, he has been writing on slips eight or ten inches long by about one or two wide. He would write a heavy leader on a bit of waste paper and never cause the printer to frown.

"I remember an incident told me by a Mr. P. When Sulgrove was editor of the *Journal* Mr. P. was a frequent but somewhat unsuccessful contributor. One day he went to the editor and remarked, 'Mr. Sulgrove, I have prepared with great care an article that I think will interest everybody, and I hope you will find room for it.'

"'Why, yes; that's all right,' replied Sulgrove, who had a cigar in his mouth. He didn't even look at the article, but crumpling it up, made a torch of it in the gas jet and quietly applied the flame to his cigar. Mr. P. was so annoyed that he said nothing and neither did the editor. 'I never could tell whether it was absent-mindedness or intentional rebuff,' concluded Mr. P., 'but I incline to the belief that it was not intended for an affront.'"

JOHN D. DEFREES.

[Obituary sketch by Berry R. Sulgrove, written at the time of Mr. Defrees's death, October 19, 1892.] x

A LIFE falling short a few days of seventy-three years, the allotted span of "three score and ten" spent in the busiest activity, a year or two of restraint by reason of failing powers, eight or nine months of suffering pitiful to think of, and the record of John D. Defrees's life is closed. The outlines which marked it for the world may be briefly told. Born at Sparta, Tennessee, November 8, 1810, he was eight years old when his father moved to Piqua, Ohio. In his fourteenth year he was apprenticed to the printers' trade. After serving his time he studied law in the office of "Tom" Corwin, at Lebanon, Ohio. In 1831 he moved to South Bend, Indiana, where with his younger brother, Joseph H. Defrees, he began the publication of a newspaper. He became prominent in politics as a Whig, and was several times elected to the legislature. In 1844 he sold his South Bend newspaper to Schuyler Colfax, whom he had given a start in life, and moving to this city the next year, bought the *Indiana State Journal*, which he edited until he sold it ten years afterward. Of his connection with the *Atlas* newspaper, which was established with an eye to political rather than pecuniary

results, with the Central Bank and the stove factory he and his brother Anthony started, now owned by Mr. Carey, and his part in the management of the Peru railroad, as it was then called, little need be said, as they illustrate merely the uncontrollable energy of his nature.

In 1861 he was appointed by President Lincoln government printer. He held the office until Johnson, angered at some criticism of his, removed him. Congress made it a senate office, and he was reappointed in thirty days. He held it until 1869, when his opposition to Grant and enmity to the late Senator Morton afforded them an occasion which they improved by turning him out. At the coming in of President Hayes he was appointed again to the same place, which he held until about last February, declining health compelling his resignation.

This framework of a life seems plain enough, but as every one's skeleton is the same, the difference in appearance being the filling in of the flesh, so in this life there was a side, which those who knew him best saw most of, that made it an inspiration. It was all the difference there is between an existence which floats with the current of affairs and a life driven by the force of an unconquerable will toward the goal of a lofty ambition. He was a natural political student and had the gift of political management, and the associates of his early days speak of his rare sagacity and his untiring energy. He was a general business man for his party here, which, during the whole time of his editorship of the State organ, the *Journal*, was in the minority. He was chairman of the State committee at one time, and always, those who worked with him say, the adviser and general conductor of affairs. He could unite two or three antagonisms into a common purpose, and when there were factional or personal differences Defrees was called in to smooth them out and restore good feeling. He had the keenest sense of humor, which his pluck and ceaseless activity were ever ready to carry into anecdote or practical joke. When the three hundred volunteers went to the Black Hawk war, arriving at the scene of action only to find the war ended, Defrees, then editing his paper at South Bend, saw the comical side of it, and came out with a sketch of what they didn't do, calling them the "Bloody Three Hundred." The fun hit so hard that most of the three hundred were ready for

blood indeed, and they went to the young editor's home and called him out for the purpose of ducking him in a pond. He came, but instead of apologizing, ridiculed and defied them without stint, until in admiration of his pluck, and in shame for a hundred or two against one, they withdrew.

His energy from his earliest days was remarkable. His newspaper at South Bend was the first one in northern Indiana, and at every turn of affairs he was seeking something new, some improvement. "Progress" seemed to be his watchword. He was the first man in Indiana to use steam to drive a printing press; the first to use a caloric engine for the same purpose; the first to see the value of the Bullock printing press and encourage the inventor; the first to use the metallic stitching machine for book-binders; the first to use the Edison electric light.

His faith in progress and human kind, and his restless energy which halted at nothing, permeated and colored his whole life. It supplied for himself the deficiencies of early systematic training. What the experience of the printers' trade and the acquisitions of a young law student might give in the way of knowledge, it may be imagined were of themselves barren enough. But to him these were the keys with which he might unlock learning's storehouse. Books were his delight. He overcame the lack of a classical education by a thorough study of translations, and the lore of Greece and Rome was his familiar acquaintance. He was especially fond of history, and there were few classical works in this line, ancient or modern, which he did not know. He was a deep political student and particularly knew the political history of his own country as few know it. He was an unwearied student and thus as the years went on he became equipped with all the mental outfit of a gentleman. He had a correct literary taste and was as quick to discern genius or special talent here as in other things. He wrote with a perspicuity almost such as Horace Greeley's was, and with a terse Saxon force and direct "drive" at the purpose in hand, rare in these days. Those who were near to him, or came in contact with him in the direction of affairs, he acted upon with the characteristic qualities of his nature. He left his impress. He was an influence, and many there are who can rise up and call

him blessed, in the memory of the chaste and elevating force that influence was.

He was a man of the rarest courage; a courage that seemed to have no weak side, mental, moral or physical. The furthest possible remove from a brawler in his nature, an acquaintance with him never failed to make it plain that he would fight on call. This coupled with the knowledge that he was a "dead shot" with a rifle, perhaps conspired to make a career among the turbulent scenes of politics singularly free from personal disturbances. Of his mental courage, his never failing faith in the power of attainments has already spoken. His moral courage, as is shown forth in a life free of dross as few lives are, was rare indeed. He had the loftiest sense of honor, and the hottest anger and bitterest contempt for a dishonorable, dishonest or mean thing; and condemnation of such leaped to his lips in a moment, for he had all the "quickness" of the nervous temperament. But so patiently did he work for its control, so thoroughly did he conquer himself, that in his later life few knew from the calm exterior the rage that took hold of him at the sight of a wrong or meanness. His integrity was flawless. He had not merely the heart to mean rightly, but the head to do rightly, and in his daily walk and conversation he was truth and honesty incarnate. This is the testimony of those who knew him as he lived among them. The writer knew him in a personal and household way also, and so knowing him he knows of his unvarying sweetness, his cheeriness that brightened intercourse and his encouragement constantly to lofty ideals and noble deeds.

All his life Mr. Defrees had not been a professor of religion, but if religion is a life he was one of its noblest exemplars. Last June he joined the Congregational Church at Washington, and took the sacrament. He was then unable to leave his room. Before and since then he was afflicted in a way that no medical skill could control, and for months he suffered as let us hope few of us may suffer. There was little bitterness of physical agony that he did not endure. His prayer was to die.

A NEWSPAPER INDEX.

"WESTERN CENSOR" AND "JOURNAL," OF INDIANAPOLIS, 1823 TO
1827, INCLUSIVE—FIRST INSTALMENT.

[The *Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide*, the second paper launched in Indianapolis, and its successor, the *Indiana Journal*, are the only early papers of which there are complete files accessible to the public. For that reason they have a particular value, and the following index may prove of interest and service to many of our readers. The classification of newspaper matter is difficult owing to its heterogeneous character. In this index we have, with a few exceptions, confined ourselves to such matter as bears, directly or indirectly, upon the history of Indianapolis, or which reflects phases of early life there. We have deemed the chronological arrangement preferable to the alphabetical scheme. The first issue of *The Western Censor* appeared March 7, 1823. January 11, 1825, it became *The Indiana Journal*. The bound files may be found in the Indianapolis Public Library.]

1823—WESTERN CENSOR.

First issue, reasons for delay of.—March 7.

Indianapolis, description of.—March 7.

Communications, excess of.—April 2.

Sunday-school, first meeting of, to be held at Scudder's cabinet-shop.—April 2. (Other matter pertaining to Sunday-school throughout early numbers.)

Roads, State.—May 14.

Squirrel killing.—May 14.

Divorce cases.—May 14.

Northern Indiana.—May 21.

Advertisement for books loaned.—May 21.

Trees, law affecting the cutting of in Indianapolis.—June 4.

Mails.—June 11.

Presbyterian church, the first.—June 11. (See also June 18.)

Indians on White river, and white woman captive.—June 11.

White river.—June 18.

Contribution: "Humphrey Ploughshare's" criticism of town ways.—June 18.

Fourth of July barbecue (ad.)—June 25.

Merchandise: New store and list of articles kept.—July 2.

Letters advertised.—July 2. [Lists of letters of considerable length were periodically published, and the custom seems curious.]

Why, in a backwoods village of six hundred people, should the advertising of unclaimed letters be necessary?]

Fourth of July oration, by Morris Morris.—July 9.

Advertisement: "Attention to Borrowers!"—July 9.

Candidates for office, list of.—July 16.

Rattlesnakes in Marion county.—Aug. 18.

Indianapolis, population of, 600 or 700 people (editorial).—Sept. 22.

Contribution: "Conduct to be Observed on Entering a Store" (satirical).—Sept. 29.

Indianapolis and the New Purchase.—Oct. 6.

Roads.—Oct. 20. (See also Dec. 15.)

Apple trees and nursery.—Oct. 20.

Delinquent taxes, sale of lots for in Indianapolis.—Dec. 1. (Christopher Harrison, commissioner, a lot holder).

1824—

Tavern: Thomas Chinn's "Traveller's Hall."—Jan. 5.

Prices of corn, pork and potatoes (ad.)—Jan. 5.

Population, influx of in anticipation of coming legislature.—Feb. 16.

Donation lands, advertisement for leasing.—Feb. 16.

Furs and tallow for subscriptions, etc. (ad.)—Feb. 16.

Social supper.—Feb. 24.

Public Meeting "to consult on the propriety of taking care of the graveyard."—March 8. (Also March 16.)

Mails; six weeks to Bloomington.—March 22.

Tan-yard near Pogue's run.—March 22.

Potatoes, varieties of; Early Whites, Large Red, Long Pale Red, Large Early Blue.—March 22.

School, teachers, etc.—April 5 (first column.)

Indian murders at Pendleton (differing somewhat from the ordinary account).—April 5.

Plasterer, advertisement of; probably the first.—April 5.

Chairs for legislative halls, advertisement for.—April 19.

Commodities for currency: Merchandise in exchange for "ginseng, beeswax, honey, sugar, deer and fur skins, or almost anything else in preference to promises. For cash only, powder, shot, whisky, salt." (John Givan's ad.)—April 26.

Sunday-school, long report about; also editorial.—May 3.

Importation: Arrival of keel-boat, "Dandy," with 28 tons of salt and whisky.—May 17.

Danville, locating of.—July 20. (Also Aug. 31).

School examination.—July 13. (School matter in July 27.)

Captain Riley, famous traveler, located on St. Mary's river.

Advocate of Wabash canal.—Aug. 31.

Emigration to Indianapolis.—Oct. 19.

Sale of Donation out-lots (ad.)—Nov. 16.

Military election.—Dec. 7. (Also Dec. 14.)

1825—INDIANA JOURNAL.

Legislature: Coming of the legislators, etc. First meeting.—Jan. 11.

Mails, arrival of.—Jan. 18.

Land office, James B. Ray on removal of to Indianapolis.—Jan. 25.

Legislators, nativity of.—Feb. 1.

Indianapolis, letter about.—Feb. 1. (Also Feb. 8).

Whetzell's trace: Petition of Jacob Whetzell praying compensation for cutting trace (in Senate proceedings).—Feb. 15.

Female Bible Society formed.—April 19.

Manufacture of glass at New Albany.—April 26.

Lots in Indianapolis, prices of.—May 3.

Sabbath school.—May 3.

James B. Ray, campaign letter to the public.—June 7. (For burlesque on Ray, see July 19).

Agricultural Society.—July 26. (See also, for formation of society, Sept. 6).

Land office, coming of, to Indianapolis.—Sept. 27.

Settlers, coming of; prospects of Indianapolis.—Sept. 27.

Road to Fort Wayne, laying out of; mention of Indian trace.—Oct. 11.

Bible Society, forming of.—Nov. 29.

1826—

Sabbath school for adults.—April 16.

John Conner, death of.—April 25. (For W. H. Harrison on John Conner see July 20, 1824. Conner's estate, Nov. 28).

Population of Indianapolis.—March 7. (760 people; 200 voters; 61 unmarried men; 48 unmarried women).

National Road.—Nov. 14.

Bible Society, Marion county.—Nov. 21.

1827—

- Legislature and State conditions.—Jan. 2.
Alexander Ralston, death of; with sketch.—Jan. 9.
Indianapolis in 1827.—Feb. 20.
Leasings on the Donation.—Feb. 20.
Female Bible Society.—March 20.
Indian treaty.—March 27. (Treaty of Oct. 16, 1826, securing Michigan road lands, and signed by all concerned. These signatures not appended to the official report in American State Papers. Also, "reserves" specified.)
Lots, sale of in Indianapolis (ad.)—April 3. (Also May 15).
Mail routes.—May 1. (Also Aug. 7).
White river, description of.—May 1.
Rattlesnake oil, advertisement for.—June 5.
Internal improvement.—June 19. (Also June 26, Nov. 13).
Indiana, description of.—June 19.
Wolves, bounty on.—June 19.
Railroads.—July 3.
Church worker in Indiana, letter from.—July 3.
Jacob Whetzell, death of and short sketch.—July 3.
Indians, the Delawares.—July 17.
Morristown, first sale of lots in.—Aug. 21.
Vocal music society, meeting in Indianapolis to establish one.—Aug. 28.
Educational: Private teaching of grammar (ad.)—Sept. 18.
"Muncy town," sale of lots in.—Sept. 18.
Imports to Indianapolis (editorial).—Oct. 2.
Methodist ministers and stations.—Oct. 2.
Indianapolis Academy, "commencement" of.—Oct. 9.
Indiana, north boundary of.—Nov. 6. (Also March 27).
Indians, attitude toward.—Nov. 6.
Public lands, kind of pay accepted for.—Nov. 13.
Indianapolis, improvements in.—Nov. 20.
Emigration to northern Indiana.—Nov. 20.
Lumber, Caleb Scudder's advertisement for 25,000 feet of cherry and poplar.—Dec. 4.
Map of Indiana (ad.)—Dec. 4. (Also Jan. 10).

DEPARTMENT OF GENEALOGY AND FAMILY HISTORY.

EDITED BY MARY E. CARDWILL,

318 East Fifth Street, New Albany, Indiana.

[Queries and answers concerning ancestors and family history will be gladly received.]

THE POINDEXTER FAMILY.

THE earliest known records of this family reach back to about 1250 when Geoffrey and Raoul Poingdestre are listed as Norman Huguenot land-owners in the Isle of Jersey.

The founder of the house of Granville was George Poingdestre, who married Geritte, niece of Sir Thomas Ahier. George Poingdestre died in 1544, and his eldest son, Edward, married Margaret, daughter of Clement Messeroy, in 1562. Their eldest son, Thomas, born in 1581, married Elizabeth Effard. Their children were Philip, Jacob, George and Rachel.

George settled in Virginia, 1640 or '50, in the present New Kent or Charles City counties. A missing link leaves a blank in the family history until about 1700 when John Poindexter was appointed by the Governor of Virginia one of the Commissioners to organize Louisa county from a part of Hanover county. He was also a justice of the peace and a vestryman in Fredricksville church, and a captain of cavalry. He married Christine ———, and had six children: John², Thomas², William², Joseph², Ann² who married ——— Slaughter, and Sarah² who married ——— Tyron. Thomas² married Lucy Jones, daughter of Gabriel Jones, of Culpepper county. Thomas's² will, probated July 15, 1796, names the following children: John³, Gabriel³, Thomas³, Robert³, James³, Richard³, George³, Elizabeth³, Lucy³ and Molly³. John³ married three times, became a celebrated Baptist preacher and was clerk of Louisa county, Virginia, for thirty years. James³, a farmer in Louisa county, married twice and left one son, Dr. James⁴ Poindexter, of Charlottesville. Thomas³, a farmer at Green Springs, Virginia, married and left many children. Richard³ married a Miss Maer, and moved to North Carolina, where he became a most distinguished Baptist minister. He left one son, Abraham⁴ Maer Poindexter. Robert³ settled in

Kentucky. Some of his descendents are found in Vevay, Indiana. George³ moved to Mississippi, soon became prominent as a lawyer, was a member of the Territorial Legislature, Delegate to Congress and Judge of Supreme Court. In 1820 he was elected Governor of the State and later was United States Senator for many years. Gabriel³, ancestor of most of the Indiana Poindexters, was born in Louisa county, Virginia, May 8, 1758, and died in Clark county, Indiana, August 28, 1831. He was a soldier of the Revolution, Virginia Line, Continental Establishment. He married Mary Swift, said to have been a relative of Dean Swift, and some years later, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, emigrated to Kentucky, where he lived near Lexington for ten or twelve years, when he moved to New Albany, Indiana, in which place his wife died in 1820. The family then moved to Clark county, Indiana, near Sellersburg.

The children of Gabriel³ Poindexter and Mary Swift Poindexter were Merriwether⁴, born —; killed in the battle of the River Raisin. Cleviars⁴, born 1797, in Virginia; married Nancy Holland, May 22, 1823. Elizabeth⁴, born 1801, in Kentucky; married John Adams, of Clark county, Indiana, December 1, 1827; died March 23, 1866. Moses⁴, died young. Lucy⁴, married Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky. Harriet⁴, married Felix Lane. Margaret⁴, married John Hancock, October 20, 1839. Polly⁴, married John Greene. John⁴, died young. Catherine⁴, died young.

Cleviars⁴ married Nancy Holland, born in Virginia, May 22, 1823. Their children were: Moses⁵, born 1824. Married (1) Sally Littell, August 22, 1844; (2) Anna Littell, November 19, 1864. Died 1895; left five children. He was a man of ability and prominence and was State Senator. Elizabeth⁵, born 1825. Married David Hay, September 4, 1844. Gabriel⁵, born 1827. Married Mary F. Willey, February 5, 1851. He was Captain of Company H, Thirty-eighth Indiana Regiment, in the Civil War. He died in 1890. His children were Fountin⁶, Charles⁶, Harry⁶, Bertha⁶, Mary⁶ and Frank⁶, all prominent people in Jeffersonville and vicinity. George⁵, born 1829. Married Amanda Anson. Randall⁵, born 1831. Married (1) Helen Root; (2) Julia —. Was a surgeon in the Civil War. Died 1890. John⁵, born 1833. Married Margaret —. Was

also a surgeon in the Civil War. Margaret⁵, born 1836. Married (1) Absalom Sellers, November 13, 1854; (2) John Eisman. Died 1892.

Elizabeth⁴, daughter of Gabriel Poindexter, married John Adams, December 21, 1827, in Clark county, but soon after moved to New Albany, where she died. Children of John and Elizabeth Adams were: John Quincey⁵, born March 31, 1829; died April 19, 1903. Albert⁵, born December 11, 1830; died December 15, —. Thomas⁵, born September 7, 1832; married Margaret Hansborough. Died August, 1895. Had two daughters: Molly⁶, married George Slaughter, of Kentucky; and Bessie⁶. Mary⁵, born May 7, 1834; married Jacob Miller. William Newton⁵, born 1836; died 1837. Elizabeth⁵, born November 23, 1838; married John O. Greene; has one child, Alice⁶. George Wesley⁵, born July 16, 1842.

TAYLOR'S STEAM PRINTING MACHINE.

THIS number of the *Journal* is printed on an elegant Steam Printing Machine just put up for us by Mr. A. B. Taylor, of New York—the patentee. The machine and the engine by which it is propelled (which, in fact, is a part of the machine itself), is the most complete of the kind now in use. The boiler which supplies the engine with steam is about the size of a pork barrel, and only requires an eighth of a cord of wood to run it ten hours! The machine itself is capable of throwing off three thousand sheets per hour, though the usual rate of working it at our office will be at the rate of two thousand an hour, requiring but one hand to feed it! It has attracted great attention, and we invite all who may wish to see it to call at our Press room and gratify their curiosity.

This extraordinary facility will enable us to keep our columns open much longer than heretofore, so that our subscribers will get all the news received by us up to the hour of publication.

This enterprise has been accomplished at a great expense, and we confidently look to the Whigs of the State to increase our circulation in such manner as will afford us ample remuneration.—
From Indiana State Journal (weekly ed.), June 22, 1847.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher.*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND NEWSPAPERS.

That librarianship as a science is now but in its infancy is a fact that is recognized, doubtless, by most modern librarians. When library work shall have developed more fully along the many lines that are destined to come within its scope, not its least important function will be the indexing and organizing of the great mass of valuable material that is continually passing through the newspaper press. There is great need to emphasize the importance of this task, which, up to the present, seems to have received little attention. It is, we presume, a quite safe proposition that the library aims to be a school for the people—a promoter of information, and one kind of information of considerable importance is a knowledge of the character of a society by the people who form it. The great source of such information is the newspapers, which reflect the community life and spirit as nothing else does. A newspaper index, intelligently compiled, would be a record or synopsis of the forces that have made a community what it is, whether for good or bad. It would be a chronological list of social movements, of the notable performances of men, and of a great variety of facts, valuable, interesting and curious, which, without such guide, are speedily swallowed up in oblivion and their lessons lost. To be specific, Terre Haute has, during the last half-year, been subjected to an experience that is of State-wide interest. In the fight against that threatening depravity which is continually showing its head everywhere, she affords an object-lesson that is worthy of elaborate study. In another year's time the whole chapter will be buried away so completely as to be practically forgotten, significant though it is. He who wishes to investigate that crusade against unrighteousness should be able to go to the Terre Haute library and by its index be guided readily to all the salient points of the case as chronicled by the contemporary papers. As with Terre Haute, so, in varying degree, with

every town in the State. The laws of growth and retrogression are going on always and everywhere, and wherever the newspaper exists it is holding the mirror up to nature—if we but know how to interpret the newspaper. As its contents lie scattered through the columns, they are little more than waste matter, but selected and organized, the inconsequential eliminated, they present the very texture of our civilization. The first step toward a history of our State that shall be worthy the name must be this cooperative organizing of a mass of material too extensive for the individual to compass. The work done by the local libraries should be a stimulus and aid to the minor students, and these students will prepare the way for the historian proper. At the present stage it is all-essential that the vigorous and phenomenal library movement, now asserting itself throughout our State, recognize in a broad way its relation to current history and its opportunities as a conservator of the same.

If we are rightly informed, there are but three of the larger libraries of the country that are doing newspaper indexing. Of these, one is the Indiana State Library, which has listed the more important contents of the leading Indianapolis papers from 1898 to the present time. This guide to the files, as people learn of it, is coming more and more into popular use, the newspapers themselves being among the most frequent patrons. The State Library scheme is, of course, much more extensive than a local library would adopt, and yet an hour or two a day suffices for the work. In the average local library ten or fifteen minutes a day would doubtless be ample time for indexing a mass of reference material that would have an abiding interest and value.

MORE REVOLUTIONARY GRAVES.

BRAZIL, IND., July 12, 1906.

Editor Indiana Magazine of History.

SIR:—You have given information regarding Revolutionary soldiers' graves in several counties, which proves interesting to many people. I desire to report for Clay county the following Revolutionary soldiers and the location of their graves:

Lawrence Thompson and Amos Kelley are buried in the Zenor cemetery, on Birch creek, six miles south of Brazil. Thomp-

son served in a North Carolina regiment. Some time after the close of the Revolutionary War, he settled in Harrison county, Indiana; thence to Clay county, where he died some time in the forties, aged about 108. Numerous descendants still live in this county. Kelley has no known descendants in the county, and little is known of his history other than the fact that he was a soldier of the Revolution. The Board of Commissioners of Clay county, with the unanimous consent of the County Council, at the suggestion of a few citizens, made an appropriation of two hundred dollars for a monument to each of their graves. The monuments were lettered and set up several months ago, and on July 4, 1906, a meeting was held at the cemetery, and the monuments duly dedicated.

John Yocom, a Revolutionary soldier, is buried in a private family graveyard, two miles south of Brazil, which has long been in disuse.

John Hopper and Benjamin Wheeler, are buried in another Zenor cemetery a short distance south of Bowling Green, the old county seat.

This makes five buried in Clay county. There may be one or two more, but the above list includes all that are positively known.

Yours truly,

F. W. ROBERTSON.

In addition to the above Miss Mary E. Cardwill, of New Albany, reports David Benton, and Arthur Parr, buried respectively in Jackson and Washington counties. There are some Revolutionary graves in Bartholomew county, but we have not been able to ascertain the names. We also find mention of Samuel Boyd, who died in Wayne county in 1835. Boyd was the maternal grandfather of Judge E. B. Martindale, of Indianapolis. We would be glad to receive information of this character from other readers.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

Reminiscences of an Indianian.—Capt. J. A. Lemcke, now of Indianapolis, a man of wide experience and varied fortunes, has published under this title a private edition volume which narrates the ups and downs of a somewhat checkered life. It is, in part, the story of a young man making his way fifty or sixty

years ago. Of those times we have many intimate glimpses of life and conditions that are a real contribution to our history. His experiences as a river man on the Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee, Wabash and White rivers are especially interesting. In more recent years Captain Lemcke was a man of some prominence in Indiana (Republican) politics. In 1886 he was elected State Treasurer, and during President Harrison's administration the office of United States Treasurer was tendered him. His declining of this tempting offer was so unusual that, as Mr. Lemcke says, "Frank Leslie, among others, published my picture with the humorously satirical remark: 'This is the portrait of a man who refused office, and *he from Indiana.*'" A wide acquaintance with men of note adds not a little to the interest of Mr. Lemcke's recollections, and the whole narrated with a pervasive strain of genuine humor makes the book exceedingly readable, and one deserving of a fuller review than we have space for.

Reminiscences of Early Indianapolis.—*The Indianapolis News*, in its Saturday editions, has for some months been running a series of papers, "Reminiscences of an Old Reporter," which deal with the Indianapolis of an earlier day. They are written by Charles Dennis, for many years one of the best-known newspaper men in the city. His personal recollections go back to a period antedating the war, and his long experience in the reportorial field has brought him in wide contact with persons and given him an intimate knowledge of events, which he sets forth graphically with the pen of a trained writer. So far as his sketches present actual recollections they are of distinct interest and value, and the more so because they deal with things about which little or no information can be had from our written histories.

Early Newspapers of Richmond.—In the *Richmond Sun-Telegram* of February 26, 1906, is published a list of the Richmond newspapers from 1820 to the present time, compiled by B. F. Wissler. Twenty-eight papers are specified as existing in that time. The list, Mr. Wissler tells us, is not absolutely complete, as even within that comparatively narrow field some have passed wholly into oblivion. We are further told that more than seventy-five papers have been published in Wayne county. In

Mr. Wissler's list we note such odd names as *The Family School-master*, *The Lily*, *The Broad Axe of Freedom* and *Grubbing Hoe of Truth* and *The Humming Bird*.

Tippecanoe Battle Document.—In the *Lafayette Morning Journal* of June 23, 1906, is published a newly found document relating to the battle of Tippecanoe. This is an account of the fight by Judge Isaac Naylor, who was a participant in it. The paper was found among the effects of Judge Naylor, now in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Mary Naylor Whiteford, who was recently visiting in Lafayette. The account has in it a number of points not, we believe, to be found elsewhere. We will, if possible, publish it in full in our next issue.

Old Fort near Richmond.—In the *Richmond Sun-Telegram* of July 4, 1906, O. S. Harrison publishes an interview with Isaac Lamb, an old citizen of Richmond, who remembered and described to the interviewer the blockhouse built in 1812, near the present site of Richmond. According to Mr. Lamb, the fort was about thirty feet square and built of hewn logs fitted very closely together. The lower part of the building was used for living purposes, and the second story, which overhung the first, was supplied with port-holes, cut about waist high, that commanded the surroundings. In its latter years the structure was used as a tool-house and granary by Thomas Lamb, father of Isaac, who burned it down in 1830. Mr. Harrison states that "Fort Smith," as he calls it, was on the old Jacob Smith farm, but omits to locate it more definitely.* There were many of these old blockhouses located throughout southern Indiana, and a record of them would be an interesting addition to our frontier history.

*Since the above was put in type we find in another article by Mr. Harrison on the same subject (*Sun-Telegram*, June 2) that the blockhouse "was on the river about one mile and a half west and north of where the court-house now stands, on the place now occupied by Nathan P. Wilson, and near where his house stands." It was built in 1812 by George Smith, Jesse Bond, Valentine Pegg, Cornelius Ratliff and others of the neighborhood.

Guard fire about
75 yds X from line.

Horses tied outside
of camp fires.

Spencer killed about
30 @ steps from angle.

* CAPT SPENDER'S CO. MOUNTED RIFLEMEN-DISMOUNTED

Yellow jackets, yellow flannel hunting-shirts
with red fringes; hats with red plumes
and black tops

2 Companies

of Militia

Infantry under

Col. Bartholomew

Capt. Adams from

Princeton

Capt. Adams from

Clinton County

Capt. Adams from

Clinton County

Capt. Adams from

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Capt. Adams from

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Capt. Adams from

Clinton County

GEN. HARRISON

1 Troop of Light Dragoons, and
Militia, under Capt. Daviess,
under command of Maj. Daviess.

2 Troops of Dragoons - 60 men
under Maj. Daviess.

CAPT. BEGG'S LIGHT
DRAGOONS IND.
MILITIA.

CAPT. FUNK'S CO. KENTUCKY
MOUNTED MILITIA

2 Companies MOUNTED RIFLEMEN - 120 Men - under Maj. Wells.

CAPT. ROSS'S CO. Mounted Riflemen

CAPT. GUIDER'S CO. from Louisville

Indiana Militia

① Daviess killed about
20 steps from angle.

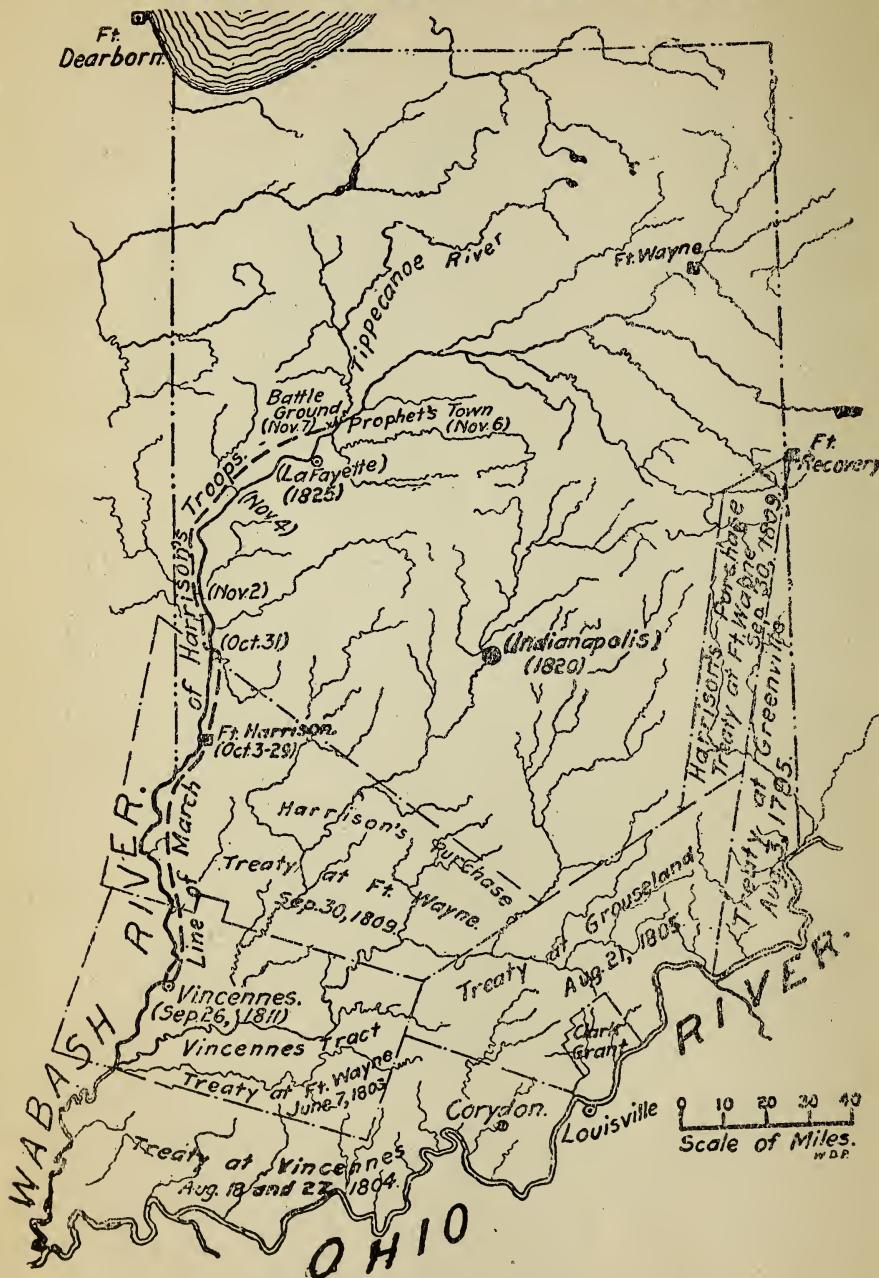
First creek



Sentinel Fire *
Sentinel killed about 150 yards from line.
Supposed to have been asleep.

Burnett's
Creek.

INDIANA IN 1811.



GENERAL HARRISON'S LINE OF MARCH

From Vincennes to the Prophet's Town, in 1811. Chart prepared by Prof. W. D. Pence, of Purdue University.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. II

DECEMBER, 1906

No. 4

THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

AS DESCRIBED BY JUDGE ISAAC NAYLOR, A PARTICIPANT—A
RECENTLY DISCOVERED ACCOUNT.

From the Lafayette Morning Journal, June 23, 1906.

JUDGE ISAAC NAYLOR was quite a prominent figure in the early history of Indiana. He was born in Rockingham county, in the State of Virginia, July 30, 1790. He emigrated with his parents to Kentucky in 1793, and in 1805 moved to Clark county, this State, taking up his wilderness home near Charlestown, which, at that time, was a pioneer settlement. After his fighting career he became a circuit judge, traveling on horseback and holding court in the counties of Montgomery, Tippecanoe, White, Benton, Fountain and Jasper, serving twenty years in that capacity. During these years only three cases tried by him suffered reversal by the Supreme Court. The last forty years of his life were spent in Crawfordsville.

Both Judge Naylor and his brother took part in the battle of Tippecanoe. The former also took part in the finish of the fight at Pigeon Roost massacre, when a very young man, and after the battle of Tippecanoe was a soldier in the war of 1812. In later years he delivered many addresses on the Tippecanoe battle, and he ardently urged the erection of a monument on the battlefield. He was the first treasurer appointed to receive funds for this purpose, but not receiving any contributions, gave up the task several years before his death, which took place on April 26, 1873.

Mrs. Mary Naylor Whiteford, a daughter of Isaac Naylor, recently unearthed, among her father's effects, an article about the battle. It gives many interesting points that are new, and is here printed for the first time.

THE ACCOUNT.

"I became a volunteer member of a company of riflemen, and on the 12th of September, 1811, we commenced our march

toward Vincennes, and arrived there in about six days, marching about 120 miles. We remained there about a week and took up the march to a point on the Wabash river sixty miles above, on the east bank of the river, where we erected a stockade fort, which we named Fort Harrison. This was three miles below where the city of Terre Haute now stands. Colonel Joseph H. Davies, who commanded the dragoons, named the fort. The glorious defense of this fort nine months after by Captain Zachary Taylor was the first step in his brilliant career that afterwards made him President of the United States. A few days later we took up the march again for the seat of Indian warfare, where we arrived on the evening of November 6, 1811.

"When the army arrived in view of the Prophet's town, an Indian was seen coming toward General Harrison with a white flag suspended on a pole. Here the army halted, and a parley was had between General Harrison and an Indian delegation, who assured the General that they desired peace, and solemnly promised to meet him next day in council, to settle the terms of peace and friendship between them and the United States.

"General Marston G. Clark, who was then brigade major, and Waller Taylor, one of the judges of the General Court of the Territory of Indiana, and afterwards a Senator of the United States from Indiana (one of the General's aides), were ordered to select a place for the encampment, which they did. The army then marched to the ground selected about sunset. A strong guard was placed around the encampment, commanded by Captain James Bigger and three lieutenants. The troops were ordered to sleep on their arms. The night being cold, large fires were made along the lines of encampment and each soldier retired to rest, sleeping on his arms.

"Having seen a number of squaws and children at the town, I thought the Indians were not disposed to fight. About ten o'clock at night Joseph Warnock and myself retired to rest, he taking one side of the fire and I the other, the other members of our company being all asleep. My friend Warnock had dreamed, the night before, a bad dream which foreboded something fatal to him or to some of his family, as he told me. Having myself no confidence in dreams, I thought but little

about the matter, although I observed that he never smiled afterwards.

"I awoke about four o'clock the next morning, after a sound and refreshing sleep, having heard in a dream the firing of guns and the whistling of bullets just before I awoke from my slumber. A drizzling rain was falling and all things were still and quiet throughout the camp. I was engaged in making a calculation when I should arrive at home.

"In a few moments I heard the crack of a rifle in the direction of the point where now stands the Battle Ground house, which is occupied by Captain DuTiel as a tavern. I had just time to think that some sentinel was alarmed and had fired his rifle without a real cause, when I heard the crack of another rifle, followed by an awful Indian yell all around the encampment. In less than a minute I saw the Indians charging our line most furiously and shooting a great many rifle balls into our camp fires, throwing the live coals into the air three or four feet high.

"At this moment my friend Warnock was shot by a rifle ball through his body. He ran a few yards and fell dead on the ground. Our lines were broken and a few Indians were found on the inside of the encampment. In a few moments they were all killed. Our lines closed up and our men in their proper places. One Indian was killed in the back part of Captain Geiger's tent, while he was attempting to tomahawk the Captain.

"The sentinels, closely pursued by the Indians, came to the lines of the encampment in haste and confusion. My brother, William Naylor, was on guard. He was pursued so rapidly and furiously that he ran to the nearest point on the left flank, where he remained with a company of regular soldiers until the battle was near its termination. A young man, whose name was Daniel Pettit, was pursued so closely and furiously by an Indian as he was running from the guard fire to our lines, that to save his life he cocked his rifle as he ran and turning suddenly round, placed the muzzle of his gun against the body of the Indian and shot an ounce ball through him. The Indian fired his gun at the same instant, but it being longer than Pettit's the muzzle passed by him and set fire to a handkerchief which he had tied round his head. The Indians made four or five most fierce charges on our lines, yelling and screaming as they advanced,

shooting balls and arrows into our ranks. At each charge they were driven back in confusion, carrying off their dead and wounded as they retreated.

“Colonel Owen, of Shelby county, Kentucky, one of General Harrison’s volunteer aides, fell early in action by the side of the General. He was a member of the legislature at the time of his death. Colonel Davies was mortally wounded early in the battle, gallantly charging the Indians on foot with his sword and pistols, according to his own request. He made this request three times of General Harrison, before he permitted him to make the charge. This charge was made by himself and eight dragoons on foot near the angle formed by the left flank and front line of the encampment. Colonel Davies lived about thirty-six hours after he was wounded, manifesting his ruling passions in life—ambition, patriotism and an ardent love of military glory. During the last hours of his life he said to his friends around him that he had but one thing to regret—that he had military talents; that he was about to be cut down in the meridian of life without having an opportunity of displaying them for his own honor, and the good of his country. He was buried alone with the honors of war near the right flank of the army, inside of the lines of the encampment, between two trees. On one of these trees the letter ‘D’ is now visible. Nothing but the stump of the other remains. His grave was made here, to conceal it from the Indians. It was filled up to the top with earth and then covered with oak leaves. I presume the Indians never found it. This precautionary act was performed as a mark of peculiar respect for a distinguished hero and patriot of Kentucky.

“Captain Spencer’s company of mounted riflemen composed the right flank of the army. Captain Spencer and both his lieutenants were killed. John Tipton was elected and commissioned as captain of this company in one hour after the battle, as a reward for his cool and deliberate heroism displayed during the action. He died at Logansport in 1839, having been twice elected Senator of the United States from the State of Indiana.

“The clear, calm voice of General Harrison was heard in words of heroism in every part of the encampment during the action. Colonel Boyd behaved very bravely after repeating these words:

‘Huzza! My sons of gold, a few more fires and victory will be ours!’

“Just after daylight the Indians retreated across the prairie toward their town, carrying off their wounded. This retreat was from the right flank of the encampment, commanded by Captains Spencer and Robb, having retreated from the other portions of the encampment a few minutes before. As their retreat became visible, an almost deafening and universal shout was raised by our men. ‘Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!’ This shout was almost equal to that of the savages at the commencement of the battle; ours was the shout of victory, theirs was the shout of ferocious but disappointed hope.

“The morning light disclosed the fact that the killed and wounded of our army, numbering between eight and nine hundred men, amounted to one hundred and eight. Thirty-six Indians were found near our lines. Many of their dead were carried off during the battle. This fact was proved by the discovery of many Indian graves recently made near their town. Ours was a bloody victory, theirs a bloody defeat.

“Soon after breakfast an Indian chief was discovered on the prairie, about eighty yards from our front line, wrapped in a piece of white cloth. He was found by a soldier by the name of Miller, a resident of Jeffersonville, Indiana. The Indian was wounded in one of his legs, the ball having penetrated his knee and passed down his leg, breaking the bone as it passed. Miller put his foot against him and he raised up his head and said: ‘Don’t kill me, don’t kill me.’ At the same time five or six regular soldiers tried to shoot him, but their muskets snapped and missed fire. Major Davis Floyd came riding toward him with dragoon sword and pistols and said he ‘would show them how to kill Indians,’ when a messenger came from General Harrison commanding that he should be taken prisoner. He was taken into camp, where the surgeons dressed his wounds. Here he refused to speak a word of English or tell a word of truth. Through the medium of an interpreter he said that he was a friend to the white people and that the Indians shot him, while he was coming to the camp to tell General Harrison that they were about to attack the army. He refused to have his leg amputated, though he was told that amputation was the

only means of saving his life. One dogma of Indian superstition is that all good and brave Indians, when they die, go to a delightful region, abounding with deer and other game, and to be a successful hunter, he should have all his limbs, his gun and his dog. He therefore preferred death with all his limbs to life without them. In accordance with his request he was left to die, in company with an old squaw, who was found in the Indian town the next day after he was taken prisoner. They were left in one of our tents.

"At the time this Indian was taken prisoner, another Indian, who was wounded in the body, rose to his feet in the middle of the prairie, and began to walk towards the woods on the opposite side. A number of regular soldiers shot at him but missed him. A man who was a member of the same company with me, Henry Huckleberry, ran a few steps into the prairie and shot an ounce ball through his body and he fell dead near the margin of the woods. Some Kentucky volunteers went across the prairie immediately and scalped him, dividing his scalp into four pieces, each one cutting a hole in each piece, putting his ramrod through the hole, and placing his part of the scalp just behind the first thimble of his gun, near its muzzle. Such was the fate of nearly all of the Indians found dead on the battle-ground, and such was the disposition of their scalps.

"The death of Owen, and the fact that Davies was mortally wounded, with the remembrance also that a large portion of Kentucky's best blood had been shed by the Indians, must be their apology for this barbarous conduct. Such conduct will be excused by all who witnessed the treachery of the Indians, and saw the bloody scenes of this battle.

"Tecumseh being absent at the time of battle, a chief called White Loon was the chief commander of the Indians. He was seen in the morning after the battle, riding a large white horse in the woods across the prairie, where he was shot at by a volunteer named Montgomery, who is now living in the southwest part of this State. At the crack of his rifle the horse jumped as if the ball had hit him. The Indian rode off toward the town and we saw him no more. During the battle the prophet was safely located on a hill, beyond the reach of our balls, praying to the Great Spirit to give the victory to the Indians, having

previously assured them that the Great Spirit would change our powder into ashes and sand.

"We had about forty head of beef cattle when we came to the battle. They all ran off the night of the battle, or they were driven off by the Indians, so that they were all lost. We received rations for two days on the morning after the action. We received no more rations until the next Tuesday evening, being six days afterwards. The Indians having retreated to their town, we performed the solemn duty of consigning to their graves our dead soldiers, without shrouds or coffins. They were placed in graves about two feet deep, from five to ten in each grave.

"General Harrison having learned that Tecumseh was expected to return from the south with a number of Indians whom he had enlisted in his cause, called a council of his officers, who advised him to remain on the battlefield and fortify his camp by a breastwork of logs around, about four feet high. This work was completed during the day and all the troops were placed immediately behind each line of the work when they were ordered to pass the watchword from right to left every five minutes, so that no man was permitted to sleep during the night. The watchword on the night before the battle was 'Wide awake,' 'Wide awake.' To me it was a long, cold, cheerless night.

"On the next day the dragoons went to Prophet's town, which they found deserted by all the Indians, except an old squaw, whom they brought into the camp and left her with the wounded chief before mentioned. The dragoons set fire to the town and it was all consumed, casting up a brilliant light amid the darkness of the ensuing night. I arrived at the town when it was about half on fire. I found large quantities of corn, beans and peas. I filled my knapsack with these articles and carried them to the camp and divided them with the members of our mess, consisting of six men. Having these articles of food, we declined eating horse-flesh, which was eaten by a large portion of our men."

JOHN TIPTON'S TIPPECANOE JOURNAL.

[John Tipton's Journal of the Tippecanoe campaign is, we believe, the only circumstantial account left us of an event memorable in the military history of Indiana. It is practically inaccessible to the student, as it has been published in newspaper form only (*Indianapolis News* of May 5, 1879). The original manuscript of the journal, together with that of Tipton's journal as a commissioner to locate the State capital in 1820, and a minor Indian campaign in 1813, are in the possession of John H. Holliday, of Indianapolis. Eventually these journals, carefully annotated by Mr. Holliday, will probably be published in the collections of the Indiana Historical Society. Pending that more permanent form we here print the Tippecanoe document as a companion article to Judge Naylor's account, and to the commissioner's journal, which appeared in Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2 of this magazine.—*Editor*.

An account of the march and encampment of the riflemen of harrison county I. T. [Indiana Territory] commanded by Capt. Spencer, consisting of 47 men besides officers in Company with Capt. R M heath, with 22 men.

Thursday 12 of September, 1811— Left Corydon at 3 o'clock, march six miles to governor harrison's mill and encampt. had our horses in good pasture.

13th. Marched 24 miles and on the way was join by Capt Berry with 20 men and Encampt at a good spring.

14th. Marched 3 miles and encampt at half moon spring. Was joined by Capt baggs with a troop of horse, and in the evening by Col bartholomew, with 120 of melitia from Clark County.

Sunday 15 two horses missing the millitia and Capts heath and Berry and Capt Baggs left us. One of our horses soon found the other being astray was stolen [?] by the oner and one man left on foot but shortly got to ride to White river and we moove on 15 miles and overtook the army encampt at a branch which was the first time I ever saw gard set out.

Monday the 16 we set out early. Crosst one fork of White River and went through the Barrens to a branch and encamped 3 miles from the main fork.

tuesday 17 marchd to Big Prairie and camped at a Lake one mile from the wabash.

Wed. 18 it Rained hard in the morning and I went to vincennis [Vincennes] and came back to the Lake in the Evening and found the company had moved to Bass Roe Creek seven mile up the River.

thursday 19. I moved on early with orders from the Capt for the company to move to vincennis, but the mayjor would not consent thereto. we did not go this day. myself and others lost money shooting. I was goosed.

friday 20 staid all day in camp and cut out* a gun and in the evening went to shooting and win some money.

Saturday 21st I cut out a gun and went to Shakertown and got my mare shod, the men was Paraded and marched to the big Prairie and mustered till late and in the time mutinized [?] with some of Capt heath's men, but marched back at sunset and dismisst in order.

Sunday 22d.—The Capt with three men from each mess went to Shakertown to meeting, and in the evening returned and took dinner, when orders came for us to lie in vincennis by ten o'clock next day and we were ordered to march fifteen minutes. We accordingly mooved seven miles, and lay without fire this evening.

Monday the 23d.—We moovd on early to ~~mereah~~ [?] creek and took breckfast, and moovd thence to vincennis where we had a general Parade, and in the Evening myself and three others got Parted from the Company and lay all night by ourselves only with too of Capt heath's men.

Tuesday the 24th. we moovd Early and soon found our company. Campd at a cornfield two miles from vincennis. I staid in camp and shot several guns and mended them and at dark it Began to rain and rained all night hard my Capt came to camp and informd us that several Indians ware in town talking to the governor.

Wednesday 25th a fine day I went to a shop and came back and mended gunlock then went to shooting and win whisky and leggs [leggings?].

Thursday 26th we mooved after Breckfast into town and our Capt treated and also a tavern keeper. We crosst the Wabash and fired two Platoons, and then went up to Capt Jubaus [Du

*To cut lead from rifles in the barrel.

Bois?] and fired again and too [took?]. Dinner. much whisky drank which caused quarreling. moved again thro a Prairie six miles wide and campd and Drawd corn and potatoes. our Pilot left us and went home. we lay ten miles from town.

Friday the 27th we marched at 12 o'clock through a Small Prairie: went four miles and campd. I went to hunt and killed two Squirrels and a hawk.

Saturday 28th it Began to Rain at Day Brake; myself and two others went to hunt and staid out till two o'clock came to camp and found the men had left us we took their trail found two men waiting with our horses and took Breckfast as we rode and went through good land and a Beautifull Prairie Seven miles wide called Demot and a Creek of the same name overtook the company after sixteen miles just as they stopt we also Passt a blockhouse in the Prairie.

Sunday 29th we mooved at ten stopt at a house bought a horse for our footman. too seargeants that had been sent to stock a gun that got broke on the 26th came up. we went 6 miles Part Prairie and Part Barrens. Croost Birch Creek and came to the River and campd near a Prairie and some men went to hunt and found three Bee trees in an hour. Spent the evening in cutting them got 9 or 10 gallons of honey. I stood guard. the Boat we were to guard came up. we Drawd whisky and salt they went on, our men set hooks and caught two fish.

Monday the 30th we mooved after Breckfast throug good land Passt a good spring and the Creek St. myri [St. Mary?] and through a beautifull Prairie four miles long and two Broad with a cabin in it. frost this day in the prairie. went to the river at an oald Camp. Passt a handsome Barr[en?] then went up and crosst a muddy Creek one of our horses miedred we went throug a rich bottom to the Plaice of meeting the army and they ware gone and the Boat left to wait for us as we found a Bee tree as we marcht three Deers Run along the Line and a number of guns fired But one killed Stopt in the evening went to hunt found two Bee trees Campd on the River near a Prairie with the boat after comeing 10 miles.

tuesday the first of october we were alarmed by the centinell firing his gun he said at an indian. but we soon [found?] to the contrary we mooved through a Prairie 3 miles and I went to

hunt rode all Day through a good bottom land to the Company at twelve and then went on; the men found a bee tree while marching and two at noon cut one down and left the rest. I hunted till night. Crosst two beautiful Creeks killed two Pigeons one of our horses sick and left by the way. we went 19 miles and campd with the boat; we past a Prairie on the other side Drawd whisky and flour but no corn Since 29 of last mo.

Wed the 2d we moved earley through a Rich bottom all day I went to hunt kild a Pheasant we found two bee trees as we marchd but could not cut them we came up with the Boat fast on the Barr, and went to help them off here we crosst the River and campd after Coming 16 m one of our men had agua yesterday.

Thursday 3d marchd at 9 four of our horses missing three men left to hunt them marchd one mile came to tare holt [terre haute—high land?] an oald indian village on the East side of Wabash on high land near a Large Prairie Peach and apple trees growing the huts torn down by the army that campd here on the 2d two miles further came up with the army. horses found. Campd on the river on beautiful high ground to build a garison.

friday 4th a fine day I went to hunt came to camp at three found thirty men comanded by Lieut mcMahon was to guard a boat going to the vermilion river for coal I went with them we went 5 miles Part Prairie and Part timbered crosst a fine creek came to another and campd.

Saturday 5th we moved early through good land. Passt three springs. Some Beautiful prairie some timber. Crost a fine large creek went through a fine Prairie found a Bee tree and stopt to Dine and cut it this morning one of our men took a swoling in his face and went Back. All the fore part of this day we had a ridg on our right and good land good springs on the left in the Evening we marchd hard crossed four creeks Broken land high timber came up with our spies and camp with them at a large creek this Day I found land that is the Best I have seen we crosst the Purchase Line we traveled 30 miles N. N. West.

Sunday 6th we moovd earley one mile came to the river at Coal bank found it was Below the Vermilion [river] half a mile

we took coffey moovd after the Boat started down. the coal Bank is on the east side of wabash. we went through a small Prairie, crosst the river to the west side went in on the head of a barr and came out on the lower end of another on the west side went through a small Prairie then came to big Prairie where the oald vermilion town was. we crosst the wabash half a mile above the mouth of vermilian river Before we came to the above town crosst vermilian river took a south course throug a Prairie with a good spring and an oald indian hutt then through a beautifull timbered ground to a small creek and stopt to let our horses graze then went through good land with a ridg on our right out of which came four springs and for two miles nothing But large sugar and walnut. The hill and the river came close together. we found a good coal Bank 14 miles below vermilian. we then crosst to the east side went 3 miles and campd with the Boat, after coming 20 m and finding two Bee trees left them.

Monday the 7th we mooved earley three miles and crosst Raccoon Creek to the Purchase line thence 15 miles to the grarrison [garrison]. found Capt heath's men Dismisst and him sick and Capt Berry at home to. our company which lay on the River above the garrison. The men on the Last Rout Draw Corn which caused murmuring. Some men wants to go home.

tuesday 8th I staid in camp we ware Parrade at twelve treated by Lt. mcmahan and mustered and had a sham fight, Dismisst in order Drawd whisky for the time we had been out the men all throwd in their hats and wrestled. Some men was sent to the Cornfield to Pull Corn.

Wednesday the 9th I staid in Camp Cut out a gun and went to shooting. a Lt. and 20 men was ordered to Scout. we covered our camp with grass it Rained hard at two the Scouting Party came in took Dinner went out again it Rained again hard at sunset.

thursday 10th we had a wet night. I cut out a gun and went over the river and got Powder. a seargeant and ten men was sent out to scout along the lines. we were alarmed at 8 by the centinel being shot and badly wounded we were ordered to arms. An officer was sent from our Part of the Camp to know the alarm. general orders was for all to git their horses. a guard was to

bee left at our Camp. I was set out post till the horses was found. we then left our camp and joined the line. Stood to arms all night till Brake of Day.

friday 11. mounted and went to the Prairie in Company with the light horse to look for indians. we took up the river crosst a creek went through a Prairie then crosst the same creek again let our horses feed half an hour and after traveling 15 miles came to camp at twelve then Drawd flour whisky and Pickled Pork got breckfast at four in the evening 5 of the Delaware indians came and took protection. Very high wind a tree fell close to camp while Riting and a gun heard at the general Camp also the Drum beat. a strong guard set out.

Saturday 12th we were parded [paraded] at day Brake went to the Prairie a seargeant and to men was sent to stay. I was one. we could find no sine came to the camp in our rout we found too of the Delaware chiefs they had Came to Camp the day Before to join us we brought them to Camp one spoke good English Plaid Cards with our men and informed that thirty of his young men was comeing to join us. I cut a gun and went to shooting.

Sunday the 13 fine day. I stocked a gun at dark we heard a gun fire at the general Camp but a thing so often Repeated could not alarm us anymore. yesterday we drawd corn Beef whisky and flour soap and candles today salt also this day the governor sends for more men.

Monday the 14 a cloudy day I cut a gun and we moovd to the general Camp I helped make Boards to cover our Camp. In the Evening three companies six men each was to go out and ly all night by three roads to kill indians should they Come I went we sat all night none came we heard a gun it rained two showers in the night.

tuesday the 15 we returned to Camp at day the Companies of horse and our company had gone to the Prairie to muster. the Day cloudy all the spies came in nothing seen I went with another man down to tare holt to look for indians. we had whisky. Stopt at tare holt found no indians went down to drink. it rained some of the indians got drunk we staid 2 hours. Lost our horses found them a mile down the river then went to Drink Lost two horses again found them half a mile

off went 2 miles through the Prairie to an oald villag thence one mile to another village and cornfield then Returned to Camp was alarmed at the fire of a gun at 11 o'clock was ordered to lie with our guns in hand the wind blew hard it Began to Rain at 12 we had to git up and cover our Camp one of our men Deserted today while I was out.

Wednesday the 16th Could cloudy and windy was mustered as usual. I was sent with 2 men to spy saw no sign came in. I staid in Camp was put under guard By mistake took to the governor set at Liberty and the Right man got. Dragoons sent after three men that Deserted last night.

thursday 17—a hard frost but a fine day we musterd as usual. I then cut out a gun at 3 in the evening an ensign and three men went to hunt Capt heath's horses. I was one. We went 8 miles most of the way Prairie land a south course and campd on the Bed of a large Dry creek.

Friday 18th—a cloudy and windy day we left Camp early and went to hunt one of our [horses?] we killed a Deer we came to the army at 2 found the men that had been sent to let the horses graze had Lost 4 men sent to hunt them this morning. a number of the Wea indians came to Camp I cut a gun.

Saturday the 19—Musterd as usual. Come to Camp Drawd Beef, Salt, whisky and flour then was Paraded while the governor informed us that our ration was reduced to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound of flour [?] of the contractor failing. He also told us that we should have to fight the indians. it Began to Rain. we ware Dismisst it Rained hard till sunset. our men that went out to hunt the lost horses came in had not found them. I turned out my mare this morning went to hunt her killed a turkey it stopt Raining and Began to Snow and Blow hard our Camps smoked it was the Disagreeablest night I ever saw the men that went to the corn field Lost Capt Spencer's mare.

Sunday 20th a very cold cloudy day the ground Covered with Snow we Did not muster as usuel. Capt Spencer's mare came to camp an Ensign and thirteen men went to hunt the horses that were lost on the 18th we went through the Prairie. Came to an indian Camp then we parted into three Companies and our Company went up to the Creek 4 miles and camped at an

oald indian Camp this morning our Capt and Seargeant quarrelled but soon Dropt. this night verry cold.

monday 21st the morning clier and cold six of us went to hunt two of our men and an indian killed a deer I wounded a deer we supt last night on a bit of bread about as big as a man's two fingers and this morning on vennison without bread we then went to hunt the horses. Came to where 50 indians was campd. Lost one of our men. Came to Camp found our hunters had killed two Deer and our 2d Lieutenant Resigned and gone home.

tuesday the 22d a fine day I went to work on the garrison till 12 I then went to let my mare graze when an alarm came 20 men was ordered to march in 5 minutes. we found it a false Report we Returned held an Election for 2d Lieut and Ensign.

wednesday the 23d a cold windy and cloudy day. I went out with 7 men to hunt the horses Lost on the 18th we found three horses belonging to the military officers. I Rode one of them we parted into 4 companies the man with me killed a turkey. Came to the Camp at dark found the indians had brought in the horses and one of our men killed a deer.

thursday 24th a verry cold morning and mustered as usual. I staid in camp washed my cloths for the first time. went to shooting this morning a Seargeant and eight men was sent with the spies and men sent to the corn field to Pull corn. 10 indians seen to day and in the evening a man drumed out of camp with his head Shaved and Powdered while Looking at that Capt Spencer's tent burnt general orders read to march on the 27th Instant.

friday the 25 a Cold morning we mustered as usuel. I staid in camp cut out three guns a Seargeant and six men went out with the spies on the west side of the wabash the men that went out yesterday came in had killed two Deer and two Raccoons but seen no sine. 6 men run away and 6 men Came to Camp to Day.

Saturday the 26 mustered as usuel marched one mile up the River then Came to Camp and left our horses went out and had a sham fight. I cut a gun the men that went out yesterday Came in seed no sine had killed 2 deer. the men killed an owl and had much sport tonight.

Sunday the 27 a fine clear warm day mustered as usual marched up the Prairie then into the woods had a sham battle thence to Camp. I staid in Camp the men went to the Prairie to Run their horses the garrison Christened and Extra whisky issued.

Monday the 28 a fine day mustered as usual found the Prairie burnt over with fire. Came to Camp. Cut out a gun and went to the talk with the Indians then came to my tent was ordered to parade the Company for to see a man whipt. We was drawd in a hollo square, three guns got up the man brought in ordered to [be] stript then pardoned. We came to Camp Re d [received] money for back ration this day came up [on] Maj Rob with a Company of mounted Riflemen and three boats and two Perodues [pirogues] with Corn flour and arms and ammunition. the above talk was with the miami Chiefs. orders to march tomorrow. this day I got one gallon of whisky.

tuesday 29 we mustered as usual. Came to Camp was ordered to march in 30 minutes 20 men Commanded by Capt. Berry went to guard the Boats that Carried our Provision and a Seargeant with 8 men to guard the gov'r. we mooved to the Prairie stopt till the Baggage all Came up. I sent Back for whisky we then mooved off with the whole army Consisting of about 640 foot 270 mounted men 19 wagons and one Cart. Passt one Creek and Camped after 5 miles on the same Creek where we Camped on the 4th Inst. maid us moove Close to the army one horse killed and a wagon Broke by falling a tree a gueard set out of our Company.

wednesday the 30 it Began to Rain at 4 in the morning. Raing till Day Brake then quit it was a Cold Cloudy and windy Day. our Company in front of the Road broke in four Lines we marched 8 miles and campd at a Spring which I saw on the 5 instant which is my choice of the western Country it Being near a small prairie with good timber and First Rate land 2 miles Below the line [of the "purchase," and on the Wabash river, about 17 miles above where Terre Haute now stands] and 13 above fort harrison.

thursday the 31st we mooved earley too of the oxen missing three of our men sent to hunt them we Crosst Raccoon Creek saw our men that went to guard the Boats on the 29th they

Left us we Came to the River where we Campd on our Return from vermillian on the night of the 6 thence up to the ford. Saw our above mentioned boat guard crossing the River we halted till the army came up then Rode the river which was very Deep and then Campd our Boat guard and the men that went to hunt the oxen Came up when we left the guards we took a north Cours up the East side of the Wabash and Crosst to the west with orders to kill all the Indians we saw. fine news. The governor's wagon Beeing left this morning in consiquens of the oxen being lost Came up and all the army crosst in 3 hours We Drawd Corn.

Friday, the first of November. I was sent with 18 men to Look for a way for the army to Cross the Littell vermillian marched at Day Brake came to Creek found and marked the road. waited till the army came up went on and campd on the River 2 miles Below the Big vermillian. Capt. Spencer myself and 3 others went up the Big vermillian. Returned to camp genl [general] Wells with 40 men had came up and Capt Berry with 9 men had came up. our company marchd in front today as usuel which now consisted of 87 men in Consequence of Capt Lindley Been attached to it.

Saturday the 2d a fine day Capt Spencer with ten men went out on a Scout. our Company not Parading as usuel the governor threatened to brake[?] the officers. I staid in Camp the army staid here to build a block house on the Bank of the wabash 3 miles Below vermillian in a small Prairie the house 25 feet square and a breast work from each corner next the River down to the water. Took horses and Drawd Brush over the Prairie to Break Down the weeds. this Evening a man Come from the garrison said last night his boat was fired on one man that was asleep killed Dead. three boats Came up and unloaded went back took a sick man with them. One of Capt Robs men died tonight Capt Spencer Came in Late tonight.

Sunday the 3d. a Cloudy day we moved Earley our Company marched on the Right wing today. Crosst the Big vermillian through a Prairie six miles 3 miles through timber then through a wet Prairie with groves of timber in it. after 18 miles camped in Rich grove of timber in the Prairie. Capt Spencer verry sick today at 10 oclock tonight the aid Came to

Camp ordered a subbaton [subaltern?] and ten men to Parade at the governors tent at 4 in the morning. I was ordered out my Company made up. a gun fired while I am riting at Eleven oclock.

monday the 4 I went out with my scouts. Joined by Capt Prince went 18 miles through a Prairie. Came to Pine Creek a fine Large Creek then turned Back the Day Beeing Cold Cloudy and windy. Began to rain at 11. we stopt to make fire But the army Came and we had to Leave it. we crosst Pine Creek and Campd two guns fired at 8. Continued rain at intervilles. I had one quart of whisky yesterday and one to Day of the Contractors.

tuesday the 5 Cloudy day we mooved earley a Lieutenant and 5 men sent to Scout. Came to the army no sine seed we went 6 miles through timber then Prairie with groves of timber and a number of small lakes in it—an alarm made. I was sent out with 17 men to scout seed nothing a deer and a wolf killed in the line. camped on a Small Branch after 18 miles. the guns fired last night wounded a horse.

wednesday the 6 a verry Cold day. we mooved earley a scout sent out they Came back had seed indian sines. we marched as usuel till 12 our spies caught four horses and seed some indians. found we were near the Celebrated Prophets town. Stopt in a prairie the foot throwd all their napsacks in the waggons. we formed in order for Battle—marched 2 miles then formed the line of Battle we marched in 5 lines on the extrem Right. went into a Cornfield then up to the above town and surrounded it they met us Pled for Peace they said they would give us satisfaction in the morning. All the time we ware there they [were] hallowing. This town is on the west side of wabash [blank] miles above Vincinnis on the Second Bank neat built about 2 hundred yards from the river. This is the main town, but it is scattering a mile long all the way a fine Cornfield. after the above moovement we mooved one mile further up. Campd in timber between a Creek and Prairie after Crossing a fine Creek and marching 11[?] miles.

Thursday the 7 agreeable to their promise[?] Last night we ware awakened by the firing of guns and the Shawnies Braking into our tents a blood[y] Combat Took Place at Precisely 15

minutes before 5 in the morning which lasted two hours and 20 minutes of a continewel firing while many times mixed among the Indians so that we Could not tell the indians and our men apart. they kept up a firing on three sides of us took our tent from the gueard fire. our men fought Brave and By the timely help of Capt Cook with a Company of infantry we maid a Charge and Drove them out of the timber across the prairie. our Losst in killed and wounded was 179 and theires graiter than ours. among the dead was our Capt Spier Spencer and first Lieutenant mcMahon and Capt Berry that had Been attached to our company and 5 more killed Dead and 15 wounded. after the indians gave ground we Burried our Dead. Among the Kentuckians was killed mayj Davis [Daviness] badly wounded and a number of others in all killed and wounded was 179 but no company suffered like ours. we then held an Election for officers. I was elected Capt. Saml Flanagan first Lieut and Jacob Zenor second Lieut and Philip Bell Ensign. we then built Breast-works our men in much Confusion, our flower [flour] been too small and our beeve last. Last night onley half Rations of whisky and no corn for our horses. my horse killed I got mcMahons to Ride 37 of them had Been killed wounded and lost last night. I had one quart of whisky.

friday the 8th a cloudy Day and Last night was also wet and Cold. we Lay all night at our Breastwork without fire in the morning Spies sent out found the indians had left their town. the horsemen was all sent to burn their town. We went and found grait Deal of Corn and Some Dead indians in the houses. loaded 6 waggons with Corn and Burnt what was Estimated at 2 thousand Bushels and 9 of our men Died last night.

Saturday the 9 a cold cloudy day we maid all things Ready to march got all our wounded in the waggons. mooved at one movd 8 m [miles] and Campd. Caught some indian horses. today one man Died. Some indians said to Bee Seen my men and some dragoons was sent out we Caught 4 horses more Belonging to the indians all my men that had Lost their horses Except myself was sent to march with the militia. yesterday we drewed one half Pound of Beef 4-3 [$\frac{3}{4}$?] of a Pound of flour to last us 5 Days.

Sunday the 10. a Cold Cloudy Day we mooved Earley trav-

ailing hard. one of my men had the ague and two more sick besides 14 that is wounded and yet living which gives me much trouble. we marchd 15 m. Stopt and maid Breast work marchd in front Boath Days.

Monday the 11 a Cold Cloudy Day we moved Earley 4 miles crosst Pine Creek where we had Camped on the 4 inst thence 22 miles and Camped in a grove of Timber in a Prairie where we had a camp on the 3 inst. lived today Chiefly on Parched Corn.

Tuesday the 12 a Clier cold night and this morning very cold. we moved Early through wet Prairie all the water frozen over with ice which maid it very bad for our foot men. we stopt and maid a fire to warm thence mooved to the Block house Just as we arrived the boat came up with Provisions we Drawd beef, flour and whisky found two men here that had run off in time of the battle on the 7 instant. Boats cleard and Preparations maid for to Embark our sick in the morning. I drawd tents had my sick all laid in them went to the Doctor had all my wounds Dresst 2 men sick and fourteen wounded.

wednesday the 13 a fine warm day. we put as many of our sick on board as the boats would hold and then I sent two of my men to git the waggons the Drivers would not let them in. I went to the governor and he had them Put in and threatened to Put the Drivers under guard. we moved on. Crosst Littell vermillian. Came to the River at tow [two?] at the same place where we campd on the 31st of Last month. my Company Crosst first then the waggons Crosst we drawd them up the Bank the Boats Came Down Brought over our foot they then took in some of the worst wounded and mooved off at Dark.

thursday the 14 a very Cold Day I was sent on with my Company to search the ford of Raccoon Creek. we moved on Passt where we Campd on the 30th of Last month thence on Passt the Creek where we had Campd on the 29th of last month thence to the next Creek 3 miles and Camped 3 miles from the garrison. a man died yesterday and buried to Day.

friday the 15 a Cold Day. I had orders to go with my Company to the garrison. Could not find our horses till sunrise. the mounted men all left us we came to the garrison saluted it with a fire. got 8 Ears of Corn a piece for our horses. Drawd Provision. I had a gallon of whisky a seargeant and 4 men Left to gueard the governor. we moovd 8 miles and Campd at

honey Creek the gov. and my men Came up. I was Capt of the gueard tonight.

Saturday the 16th a very Cold Day my horse Lost my Company Did not march till after the army. my horse found. I went through the train [trail?] ten miles. Crosst a Creek thence through timbered Land 10 miles the horse and men went to the first house. got corn then went and campd on a fine Creek.

Sunday the 17 a very Cold Day. The governor Came to my Camp ordered me to take 10 men and go with him to Shaker-town to make out muster Rolls for to Dismiss my Company this day we arrived at 11. I got Ready mustered my Company at Sunset fired to [two] Rounds we then Campd. my Lieutenant and myself went to a house found the people kind Beyond expectation. Supt on Chicken, Butter and tea the first time I Dind in a house since the 18 of Septem. Returned to Camp Passt a fine night. I had one gallon of whisky.

Monday the 18th a verry Cold Day. we Drawd six Days Rations for all my men that went home from here. Staid till 11. the gov Returned thanks for our good conduct. I went 7 miles and put up at a house had with me my 2d Ljeut and 3 men Supt on Pork, Butter and Honey. my horse lame.

tuesday the 19th: I had a good Breckfast before Day. a Cold Cloudy Day 2 of my men brought horses we moovd for vincinnis. I settled with the Quartermaster and maid out my muster Rolls. it Began to rain at 12. I had got to town found that 2 of my men that Came Down in the Boat had Died one on the 16th and the other on the 18th the Latter Beeing Geo Spencer my Peticuler friend. my other 2 men very Bad three men that Came Down to attend the sick informed me they had no Provisions. I immediately furnished them. the Evening Being Bad I staid in town had good Company. Partook of an indifferent Supper and Lay By the fire. my horse that I Rode gave up one of my wounded men gave me his to Rid[e] and I got a publick horse for him to Ride home.

Wednesday the 20 a very Cloudy Day I was busily Engaged settling with the Contractor till Late. he would not Pay me. I then went to the gov. I staid till after supper he wrote to the Contractor. I found him he told me to Call in the morning. I then went to my lodgn.

thursday 21st. a Cloudy day. I went to the Contractor, he paid me the money he was Due my Company. I then left town at Eleven one of my company sick we went 16 miles. Came to White River my sick man staid and one man with him. myself and four more went to the next house. Staid there got good Supper and our horses fed at a moderate Price.

friday the 22 a cold morning we staid till our two men Came up. Passt our Camp of the 15 at 7. we moved on and at 8 Passt where we Campd on the 16 of September. went on 18 miles at 1 Came to Drift river [west fork of White river] fed our horses and found one man who had gone on and walked. fed our horses and took Dinner at 2 went on at Sunset Crosst Lick Creek and at half Past 10 Came to the french lick. we had our horses fed at our sick mans brothers.

Saturday the 23d a Cloudy Day we moved early 10 miles and at 10 stopt took breckfast then went on. Crosst Patoka one of our men left behind yesterday. I found a militia man gave out walking and I walked and let him Ride my horse. Passed a bad falling [of timber?] Stopt to let our horses graze moved again Crosst Blue River at Sunset went one mile my Lt [Lieutenant] and sick man stopt myself and one man went one mile further and stopt our man that we had left Came up late at night.

Sunday the 24th a Cloudy and Rainy morning we mooved Earley Came to Corrydon at half past ten. I staid two hours and half took Breckfast mooved up to Coonrods found my Lt and sick man. Staid 2 hours had my horses fed got some whisky. met one of my neighbors. mooved again and at 2 oclock got safe Home after a Campaign of 74 days.

JOHN TIPTON.

NOTE—Appended to the journal is the following, written in Tipton's hand:

This Day Book Kept During the Campane in the year 1811 wherein his Excellency Governor Harrison was Commander in Chief and Col. J. B. Boyd of the 4th united States Riegement was Second in Command Everything herein Stated the Subscriber holds himself Ready to make appear to Bee fact from the best information could be Had as it was duly kept By himself.

A MILITARY CIRCULAR OF 1812.

[A copy of the following circular, issued by Governor Harrison a few months after the battle of Tippecanoe, was found a few years since among some papers of John B. Dillon. Mr. Dillon, in his history of Indiana, makes use of extracts from it, but does not publish it in full.—*Editor.*]

GENERAL ORDERS FOR THE MILITIA.

HEADQUARTERS, VINCENNES,

16th April, 1812.

As the late murders upon the frontiers of this and the neighboring Territories leave us little to hope of our being able to avoid a war with the neighboring tribes of Indians, the commander-in-chief directs that the colonels and other commandants of corps should take immediate measures to put their commands in the best possible state for active service. The field officers who command battalions will visit and critically inspect the several companies which compose them and make a report in detail of their situation, particularly noting the deficiencies in arms, ammunition and accoutrements, and such measures as the laws authorize must be immediately taken to remedy those deficiencies. The commander-in-chief informs the officers that the most prompt obedience and the most unremitting attention to their duty will be required of them—the situation of the country calls for exertion on the part of the militia, and the officers must set the example to their men. If there are amongst them any who have accepted appointments for the mere motive of gratifying their vanity by the possession of a commission to which a title is annexed, without having the ability or the inclination to encounter arduous service, in justice to their country and to their own fame they should now retire and not stand in the way of those who are more able or more willing to encounter the fatigue and dangers incident to actual service in the Indian war. From the specimen which the commander-in-chief has had of their conduct in the field he has every reason to be proud of them, nor does he believe that there are better militia officers to be found anywhere those of Indiana, but in a crisis like the present they should be *all good*.

The field officers are to see that proper places are appointed

for the rendezvous of the companies upon an alarm or the appearance of danger, and will give orders relatively to the mode of their proceeding in such exigencies as the situation of the companies respectively call for. When mischief is done by the Indians in any of the settlements, they must be pursued, and the officer nearest to the spot, if the number of men under his command is not inferior to the supposed number of the enemy, is to commence it as soon as he can collect his men. If his force should be too small he is to send for aid to the next officer to him, and in the meantime take a position capable of being defended, or watch the motions of the enemy, as circumstances require. The pursuit must be conducted with vigor, and the officer commanding will be held responsible for making every exertion in his power to overtake the enemy. Upon his return, whether successful or not, a particular account of his proceedings must be transmitted to the commander-in-chief and a copy of it to the colonel of the regiment.

The commander-in-chief recommends it to the citizens on the frontiers of Knox county, from the Wabash eastwardly across the two branches of the White river, those on the northwest of the Wabash and those in the Driftwood settlement in Harrison, to erect blocked houses or picketed forts. It will depend upon the disposition of the Delawares whether measures of this kind will be necessary or not upon the frontiers of Clark, Jefferson, Dearborn, Franklin or Wayne. Means will be taken to ascertain this as soon as possible and the result communicated. The Indians who profess to be friendly have been warned to keep clear of the settlements, and the commander-in-chief is far from wishing that the citizens should run any risk by admitting any Indians to come amongst them whose designs are in the least equivocal. He recommends, however, to those settlements which the Delawares have frequented as much forbearance as possible towards that tribe, because they have ever performed with punctuality and good faith their engagements with the United States, and as yet there is not the least reason to doubt their fidelity. It is also certain that if they should be forced to join the other tribes in war, from their intimate knowledge of the settlements upon the frontiers they would be enabled to do more mischief than any other tribe.

By the commander-in-chief.

A. HURST, *Aid-de-camp.*

EARLY INDIANAPOLIS.

THE FLETCHER PAPERS—THIRD INSTALMENT.

The First Lawyer in Indianapolis—Brief Sketches of Some Forgotten Men; Obed Foote, Judge W. W. Wick, and Harvey Gregg—An Anecdote of Hiram Brown.

From the Indianapolis News of May 17, 1879.

Mr. Nowland, Mr. Ignatius Brown and Mr. Holloway credit Calvin Fletcher with being the first lawyer in town. I had thought that this was the fact until recently when I examined my father's journal and letters. In a letter written to a lady friend in Virginia he says: "You may wish to have me make some remarks respecting my professional prospects. We have two attorneys here besides myself—one was here when I came and one has come since." Who this first one was I have no means of knowing to a certainty. The first three who were admitted in the first circuit court, held on September 26, 1822, appear on the record as "Calvin Fletcher, Hiram M. Curry and Obed Foote." If any one preceded my father I am inclined to think it must have been Curry.

Obed Foote was one of the most remarkable characters that early settled in Indianapolis. Although a man of kindly heart, he let the gruff side of his nature appear uppermost. That he was a kindly man I know, because he was kindly to children; but for conceited men or men of shams he had no consideration whatever. He blurted out just what he thought of ignoramuses or asses, and he was not merely a man of words—he was ready to give satisfaction physically. Yet he proved himself a just man, with clear ideas of law, occupying as he did until the day of his death (in 1833) the place of the principal justice in Indianapolis.

News of May 24.

Judge W. W. Wick came to Indianapolis from Whitewater. He had a singular combination in his character. When a young man he had a fine presence. He was at times dignified, and then

again he seemed to care nothing for personal dignity and was, if anything, too familiar. He was eloquent as a lawyer, and yet he sometimes mingled the sublime and the ridiculous in the most preposterous manner. It was said of him that he had in an extraordinary degree the gifts of wisdom and unwisdom, but so curiously mixed them that one often neutralized the other. He was acceptable as a presiding officer, but finally returned to the bar. He entered politics and was representative in Congress from the fifth district, but it can not be said that he was successful as a politician.

Harvey Gregg came to Indianapolis in December, 1821. He would have been a marked character in any community. A Kentuckian by birth, he had the greatest admiration for English people—for their thoroughness, system and education. He had traveled extensively in Mexico and Central America, and I recall with the greatest pleasure a day spent at my father's house in which he narrated to us his adventures among the mountains and volcanoes of the tropics. He was full of fun and practical jokes, and many are the anecdotes which a few of our older citizens preserve of him. He was a studious man, and I remember how my child-eyes were filled with astonishment at his library of beautifully-bound books. He had, perhaps, more dry humor and prankishness than any other man of his time in Indianapolis. As he would saunter from his office down Washington street he generally wore a large white, old-fashioned castor hat, and his coat was a long frock reaching below his knees—a fashion introduced by Charles X of France, who was bow-legged. He always went humming or singing. If he saw movers passing westward he was sure to hail them, and if, as he judged from the skeleton horses and the ramshackle vehicle, with wheels tied up with hickory withes, they were from North Carolina, he would begin drawlingly: "Carliner?" "Ya-as," the person questioned would reply, astonished that anybody should know him. The astonishment would give way to a friendly smile as Gregg continued in the "Carliner" tone: "Come from Beard's Hatter Shop, or the three fish traps, or by Dobson's cross roads?" By this time Carliner reckoned that Gregg was from "them parts,"

and felt sure of it when Gregg asked if they had come "through the crab orchard." Gregg had never been in North Carolina.

I remember in 1831, when I was eight years of age, I printed with pen and ink Mr. Gregg's name and asked my father to give it to him to paste in his big white hat. About ten days after, to my great surprise, I received from Charles I. Hand, our chief hatter, a castor for me exactly in style as that worn by Mr. Gregg, and accompanying this hat were several foolscap sheets on which were written all the chapters and verses containing the paragraphs [?] of the Bible. These foolscap lessons were to train my memory. He could tell by heart where each paragraph was. With all his waggishness he had a very serious side to his nature. My father said that often when sleeping in the same room with him when on the circuit he would be aroused in the small hours of the night by Gregg speaking to him: "Wake up, Fletcher; wake up! How you sleep! I can not; I have been thinking of the awfulness of eternity." On one occasion, at Danville, he awoke my father at midnight, saying: "Fletcher, I can not sleep, my daughter is dying at Indianapolis." He aroused the landlord, mounted his horse and rode to Indianapolis to find his daughter, a most sweet and attractive child, just dead. On March 23, 1833, he was taken seriously ill at Franklin, but insisted upon going to Indianapolis. The disease affected the head, and after a few days of intense suffering he passed away, on the 3d of April, in a state of unconsciousness, and was two days afterwards buried by the side of his beloved daughter, in out-lot No. 4, on Walnut street, known to old citizens as the Frazer property. [Gregg was one of the founders of the "Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide," the second paper in Indianapolis.]

News of August 25.

I often heard my father narrate a circumstance which occurred in the early days of circuit riding. Judge Wick, William Quarles, Hiram Brown and my father, when riding to court to be held at Danville, had reached the last cabin on the road at a late hour in the afternoon. Heavy clouds threatened rain; the air was cold and raw; the road a mere path through the dense beech woods. Wick and Quarles proposed to stay at the house, but Mr.

Brown and my father, by way of trying Quarles, who had disgusted them with his boastings, dashed on, and the others followed, Quarles with muttered curses. Night rapidly overtook them, a cold rain saturated everything, and in the Egyptian blackness of the forest they became hopelessly lost. Quarles, after exhausting his supply of oaths, became silent through sheer inability to do anything like justice to the subject. All secured their horses and prepared to bivouack for the night. Brown, who had no blanket, found Quarles' upon the ground and seized upon it. Missing his blanket, Quarles charged first my father and then Wick with the abstraction, and then attacked Brown, who, aroused with some difficulty from a deep and sudden slumber, calmly admitted the possession of a blanket found by him in the wilderness without an owner, and until a claimant appeared with a better title than himself—which, in the absence of all light on the subject could not possibly happen before morning—he certainly should keep and enjoy the good the gods had provided. Judge Wick and my father gravely assented to Brown's right in the matter, to the intense wrath of Quarles, who bitterly denounced the whole company as a pack of blank thieves, and threatened the most grievous consequences to Brown if the blanket was not at once turned over. One of the party now professed to be convinced of Quarles' rights and urged him to immediate and vigorous measures. Throughout the oaths and threats of Quarles could be heard the bland sentences of Brown: "Colonel Quarles, self-preservation is the first law of nature. A wife and small children depend upon me for support while you are a bachelor and no one cares whether you live or die. My death would be a loss to the community while yours would be unnoticed or, perhaps, regarded as a benefit," etc. This was kept up until consciousness left all the party except Quarles, who sat all night, wet and wretched, at the foot of a tree.

[Here ends our reprint of this series. For the fuller text the reader is referred to the *Indianapolis News*. Dates complete are given in this magazine, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 29.]

THE EARLY SCHOOLS OF INDIANA.

FROM PAPERS OF D. D. BANTA—FOURTH INSTALMENT.

"Barring Out"; The Tables Turned on the Autocrat of the Rod—Instances of a Rude Custom Once General.

Among the school customs of early days which have entirely disappeared was that described as "turning out" or "barring out" the teacher—a sport that was never indulged in in Indiana at any other than Christmas time.

The ostensible object, in barring out a teacher was to compel him to treat his school. It was a sort of legalized rebellion of the scholars against the master's authority, accompanied by a forced levy with which to purchase the particular article that was to compose the treat, or else to furnish the treat outright himself. Usually the deposed monarch furnished the money and the rebels bought the treat."

The "treat" here in Indiana, as far as I have seen, always consisted of something to eat or drink. In western Pennsylvania, according to Breckinridge's "Recollections of the West," the object was to compel a vacation. In all cases the barring out was made the occasion of more or less revelry and disorder. According to a statement made in the "Life of Thomas Jefferson Fisher," a Kentucky preacher, barring out was observed "on the first holiday that came, or at the end of the session." I find no evidence of its observance in this State at the end of the session, although some teachers were in the habit of making presents to their scholars at that time. Such presents were always voluntarily made, however, and as far as my observations went, always consisted of something else than articles of food or drink.

I find but two instances recorded of the use of whisky in this State with which to treat the school. One of these was in a school in Jefferson county, and the other in Morgan. The episode in the last-named county is reported to have occurred at Christ-

mas of the cold winter of 1825-'26. When the teacher reached the schoolhouse on that extraordinarily cold morning he found the door barred and all the big boys inside. Of course the pedagogue wanted in, but the boys declared that it would take a "treat" to open the door that morning. Accordingly, Mr. Conduitt, the teacher, went to the nearest "grocery" and purchased about a gallon of whisky, with which he returned and again applied for admittance. The door was at once unbarred and the man with the jug admitted, whereupon a season of "high jinks" followed. The master dealt out the liquor liberally, it would seem, for some of the boys, becoming "too full for utterance," had to be "sent home in disgrace." One of these boys, it is recorded, "went home swaggering, happy as a lark, loaded to the muzzle with a ceaseless fire of talk, but his father quietly took down the big gad and gave the boy a dressing that he remembers to the present."

The following account of a "turning out" will prove of interest in this connection. It occurred in Nashville, in this State. "The custom," says the historian, "was so universal that the scholars demanded their right to it, and were upheld by their parents. Christmas came, and Mr. Gould was informed that he must treat. The scholars refused to come to order when called and the teacher refused to treat. After a short time the larger boys forcibly captured the teacher, bound him hand and foot, and carried him down to Greasy creek to be severely ducked in cold water unless he surrendered and treated. Several men of the town accompanied this novel expedition. The stubborn teacher was carried out into the stream by the larger boys, who took off their shoes and rolled up their pants and waded out. A parley was held, but the teacher was obstinate and was on the point of being unceremoniously baptised, when W. S. Roberts interceded, and after some sharp words, pro and con, secured from the teacher the promise to treat on candy and apples. He was then released, and the cavalcade marched up to the store, where all were given a taste of the above-named delicacies.

Stubborn teachers did not always come out as well as did this Brown county man. The school boys of a certain district in Posey county, having determined to compel their teacher to treat, "upon his refusal he was promptly sat upon by the boys, who

soon overcame him and carried him down to the creek and broke the ice. The alternative was once more given him, but he was stubborn and held out. Without ceremony he was plunged beneath the icy water, and, yet holding out, his tormenters placed chunks of ice on his bare bosom, and but for the arrival of outsiders who rescued him, serious consequences would doubtless have been the result." It is more than probable in this case that the victim had been a hard master, and his pupils took advantage of their opportunity to get revenge. Jacob Powers, a Hancock county teacher, fared worse. He had recently had a tooth extracted, and, despite his warning as to the risk, was plunged in the cold waters of a creek. The result was lock-jaw, from which he died.

While the teachers, as a general rule, resisted the demand to their uttermost, there were others, however, who fell in with the humor of the occasion and found as much fun in it as the boys themselves. Indeed, if the teacher resisted in good earnest, even to the point of being ducked in the ice-cold water, he was, nevertheless, "expected to forgive his enemies," and I do not remember to have come across an instance of a teacher ever being accused of subsequently holding malice against any one who had wronged him in a Christmas frolic.

It must be said that those teachers who looked on the bright side of the custom, and gave in after a brief show of resistance, usually came out the best. On one occasion the big boys of one William Surface's school barred the school door against him. On reaching the schoolhouse he was, of course, refused entrance except on the usual condition. But the teacher declined answering their oral demands, because he said, "some dispute might arise as to what was said." If they had terms to propose they must present them in writing. This seemed reasonable, and so the boys put their demand on paper, which, together with pen and ink, was handed to the diplomat on the outside. Beneath the boys' scrawl he wrote, "I except to the above proposition—William Surface," and passed the writing back. The boys were satisfied, and at once opened the door. "You had better read with care what I have written," said the master to the scholars, when safe within. "It is one thing to accept a proposition and quite another to except to it." The boys, now crestfallen, ac-

knowledgeed their mistake, but the teacher, after "improving the occasion by warning them against the evil of carelessness in the business transactions of life," generously treated, and was thereafter loved better than ever before.

A teacher by the name of Groves, who taught in a district close up to the Marion county line, found himself barred out one Christmas morning. Living in "the schoolmaster's cabin" hard by, he called in his wife to assist him. The weather was extremely cold, and it occurred to him that if he could drown out the fire he could freeze out the rebellion, and so, ascending the roof to the top of the chimney, his wife handed up buckets of water, which he poured down on the school fire. But it was all in vain. The boys, raking the coals out upon the broad hearth, defied him. His next thought was to smoke them out, and to that end he laid boards over the chimney top. But the boys had thought of that and provided themselves with a long pole with which to remove the boards. Not to be outdone, Groves replaced the boards over the chimney and calling upon his wife, who seems to have entered with spirit into all his plans, she gallantly mounted to the comb of the roof and took her seat on the boards to hold them down while her husband stationed himself at the door below. But the boys tried the pole again, and with such vigor that they overthrew the master's dame, who, at the risk of her life and limb, came tumbling to the ground. Picking herself up, she retired to her own domicile, leaving her lord to fight the battle out as best he could. As the girls and smaller children arrived he sent them to his own cabin, where his wife agreed to keep watch and ward over them. One by one the garrison became captive to the vigilant master, who stood guard at the door, and was sent to the other house. By the time for dismissing in the afternoon every rebellious boy had been taken in and the school was in full blast in the master's cabin.

[End of series. For guide to full text see Vol. II, No. 1, p. 41.]

GENERAL LAFAYETTE IN INDIANA.

[From Paper by Capt. L. C. Baird, prepared for the Clark County Historical Society.]

[Lafayette's visit to America in 1824-'25 was a series of ovations in which the cities of the nation along the route of his tour vied with each other in doing honor to the patriot. His trip westward by the Ohio river brought the southern border of Indiana within his circuit. Some months before this western trip the Indiana legislature, in anticipation, passed elaborate resolutions expressive of cordiality and hospitality, and on his arrival at Louisville, in May, 1825, a committee waited upon him with official congratulations and an invitation to Indiana soil. The distinguished visitor accepted the proffered hospitality and the next day, May 11, he was a guest at Jeffersonville. Captain Baird's paper in its entirety is too long for our limited space, but so much of it as deals directly with the reception we here print.—*Editor.*]

AT 11 o'clock A. M. on Thursday the committee (Messrs. Farnham, Gwathmey, Merriwether, Beach and Burnett) waited upon General Lafayette on board the steamboat General Pike, to which he was escorted by the Committee of Arrangements and Marshals of Louisville and Jefferson county. The General was greeted on the Indiana shore by a salute of thrice twenty-four guns, discharged from three pieces of artillery, stationed on the river bank beside three flagstaffs, each seventy feet in height, bearing flags with appropriate mottos. He was received by General Marston G. Clark, of Jeffersonville, and General John Carr, of Charlestown, Marshal of the Day, and escorted by a detachment of three artillery companies, commanded by Captains Lemon, Melford and Booth, to the pleasant mansion house of the late Governor Posey on the west corner of Front and Fort streets overlooking the river and the city of Louisville beyond. His progress down Front street from the place of debarkation near the present Ferry landing was a spectacle the like of which the city had never seen before. Officials, both State and local, together with many other men of State and national renown from our sister commonwealths, vied with the vast concourse of the "common people" to add to the generous expression of gratitude and esteem for the guest of honor.

Besides the many visitors from throughout the State, the people from the surrounding country had made this a holiday that all might be given an opportunity to participate in the reception. In addition to the three artillery companies and Captain Parker's infantry company from Charlestown, there were other military organizations present, but the absence of any records concerning the Indiana militia at this period of our history, and in fact for many years afterward, makes it impossible to discover who they were or whence they came.

The guest was met at the Posey mansion by his excellency, Governor James B. Ray, who delivered an address of welcome, and to this he made a brief and fitting response. These speeches were exchanged out of doors, and while the General was still speaking the long-threatened rain began to fall, and his remarks had to be finished while standing under the shelter of an umbrella proudly held by Mr. Charles Applegate, one of the older citizens present.

The General was then conducted to chambers, provided with refreshments, and presented to a numerous company of ladies assembled to welcome him and to several hundreds of citizens, including a few venerable relics of the "times that tried men's souls."

Among the old residents of the city who were presented at the reception was Solomon Burritt. He lived and died in the small brick house on lower Market street about opposite the end of Clark street. During the war of the Revolution he served under Lafayette, and when it came Burritt's time to be presented to his old commanding officer, they fell into each other's arms and kissed and shed tears of joy and comradeship.

One incident occurred during the reception that served to relieve the proceedings of any stiffness which might have appeared. Captain John C. Parker, of Charlestown, had brought his militia company down to Jeffersonville to form part of the large military escort. During the presentation he took several of his men up to be introduced. One strapping young militiaman stepped forward to shake the General's hand and politely raised his hat, when out fell several large crackers which he had thoughtfully provided for a lunch. The General adroitly relieved him of his

embarrassment and mortification by congratulating him as a good soldier who carried his rations with him.

At three o'clock in the afternoon Lafayette was conducted to dinner under a military escort accompanied by a band of music. The table was handsomely prepared under an arbor, about 220 feet in length, well covered and ornamented throughout with the verdure and foliage of the forests, among which roses and other flowers were tastefully interwoven by the ladies of Jeffersonville. This table was set in the woods just above the Governor's house, about 100 feet above Fort street, and in constructing the arbor or covering, as was usual at that day on such occasions, the branches of the surrounding beech trees were used. Mr. Burdette C. Pile, later Mayor of Jeffersonville, then a young man and the owner of a fine yoke of oxen, used his ox rig in transporting the brush from the near woodlands to the scene of festivity, an incident which he was proud of relating to the day of his death.

At the head of the table was hung a transparent painting on which was inscribed, "Indiana welcomes Lafayette, the champion of liberty in both hemispheres," over which was a flag bearing the arms of the United States. At the foot of the table was a similar painting with the following inscription: "Indiana—in 1776 a wilderness; in 1825 a civilized community. Thanks to Lafayette and the soldiers of the Revolution." The company was honored by the presence of many distinguished gentlemen from Kentucky, Tennessee, and other States, among whom were, Governor Carroll and suite, Hon. C. A. Wickliffe, Judges Barry and Bledsoe, Attorney General Sharp, Colonel Anderson, the Honorable John Rowan, with the Committee of Arrangements of Louisville and Jefferson county, Major Wash, Mr. Neilson, etc.

The dinner was followed by a long list of toasts which continued until six o'clock, at which hour Lafayette left the table and was re-escorted to the General Pike. Here the committee of arrangements from Kentucky resumed the honor of their special attendance, in which they were joined by the Governor of Indiana and suite, the Marshals, and the Indiana committee of arrangements, who accompanied the guest to Louisville.

A FAMOUS CAMPAIGN SONG.

[For the now-forgotten music of this most famous of the old campaign songs of 1840 we are indebted to Messrs. Alva O. Reser and J. S. Bergen, of Lafayette. The former found a venerable inmate of the Soldiers' Home, near Lafayette, who remembered the air, and from his rendition of it the notes were secured and the song reproduced on a phonograph record. From this record the music was kindly re-written for this magazine by Professor Bergen. It is, perhaps, superfluous to explain that the "Tippecanoe" of the song was W. H. Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe battle, who in 1840 was the presidential candidate, and that "little Van" was the opposing candidate, Martin Van Buren. The "hard cider" campaign, unique in its character, was one of frolic and songs, and this song, with others, was roared by untold thousands of Whigs from one end of the country to the other.—*Editor.*]

TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO.

What has caused this great com-mo-tion

mo-tion, mo-tion, Our country through It

is the ball a-roll-ing on, For Tip-pe-ca

noe and Ty-ler too. Tip-pe-ca noe and

Ty-ler too: And with them we'll beat

lit-tle Van, Van, Van is a used up man;

And with then we'll beat lit-tle Van.

Like the rushing of mighty waters, waters, waters,
 On it will go,
And in its course will clear the way
 For Tippecanoe and Tyler too,
And with them we'll beat little Van, Van!
Van is a used-up man;
And with them we'll beat little Van!

Don't you hear from every quarter, quarter, quarter,
 Good news and true—
That swift the ball is rolling on for
 Tippecanoe, etc.

Now you hear the Vanjacks whispering, whispering, whispering,
 Things look quite blue,
For all the world seems turning round for
 Tippecanoe, etc.

Let them talk about hard cider, cider, cider,
 Log cabins too;
'Twill only help to speed the ball for
 Tippecanoe, etc.

Little Matty's days are numbered, numbered, numbered,
 Out he must go,
And in the chair we'll put the good old
 Tippecanoe, etc.

Who, then, shall we send to Congress, Congress, Congress?
 Who, tell me who?
Why, honest freemen, sound, true friends of
 Tippecanoe, etc.

And when they get there, I can tell you, tell you, tell you,
 What they will do—
They'll make good laws and have them sealed with
 Tippecanoe, etc.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher.*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

ERRORS CORRECTED.

An article on John D. Defrees in our last issue was there accredited to Mr. Berry Sulgrove as the author. This we inferred, and the inference was reasonable from the material in our possession, but it was an error. The article from which we drew, anonymously published at the time of Mr. Defrees' death, was written by Mr. Morris Ross, of the *Indianapolis News*. The date of Mr. Defrees' death, given as 1892, should have read 1882. This simply was a typographical error that escaped in the proof reading. Our attention is called, also, to a sentence in the article on "Early Newspapers" which seems to question the date of founding of the *Richmond Palladium*. We did not mean to discredit the claim that it was founded in 1831, but the claim that it was the oldest now existing in the State, barring the *Vincennes Sun*. Others claim dates earlier than 1831.

LAPORTE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Mr. R. B. Oglesbee, of Laporte, Ind., writes:

"By the formation in January, 1906, of the *Laporte County Historical Society* there is one more to add to your list of local historical associations in this State. We are holding interesting monthly meetings and a good collection of local historical matter is being accumulated."

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS.

The above correspondent also supplies us with the names of several Revolutionary soldiers buried in Laporte county. These are: Hezekiah Smith, Door Village; Clark Burlingame, Door Village; Henry Van Dalsem, Kankakee township; Abijah Bigelow, Michigan City; Simon Wheeler, Law's cemetery, Cool Spring township.

We are in receipt of two anonymous communications, one, and probably both of which, come from the Lafayette Post of the D. A. R. These, covering the same ground, state that Nathaniel Richmond, father of Dr. John L. Richmond, one of the pioneer physicians of Indianapolis, is buried in a private family graveyard on his own farm at Pendleton, Ind. He was born in Taunton, Mass., in 1760; enlisted at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and served in the 2d Massachusetts Volunteers. He married Susannah Lambert. After the war he moved to Chesterfield, Mass., and later to Herkimer, N. Y., finally coming to the new State of Indiana, where he took up land at Pendleton. He died Sept. 1, 1829. His discharge from the army was signed by George Washington, 1783. Another son was Rev. Nathaniel Richmond, and a grandson was Dr. Corydon Richmond, surgeon from Indiana in the Civil war, who recently died at Kokomo, Ind., at the age of ninety-eight years.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

William Wells, Indian Captive.—In the Fort Wayne *Journal-Gazette* for August 12, 1906, Frank Dildine tells the romantic story of William Wells who, taken captive by the Indians when a small boy, was reared among the Miamis. He and the famous Little Turtle grew up together as close friends; he married the sister of Little Turtle, and when the latter became chief he made his friend his trusted lieutenant in the warfare with the whites preceding Wayne's campaign. Before Wayne's incursion Wells went back to his people in Kentucky, parting amicably with his foster brethren, and he joined the expedition against them that resulted in their subjugation. After the treaty of Greenville he remained at Fort Wayne, resuming relations with his Indian family and their people. He was massacred by hostile Indians near Fort Dearborn, in 1812. A letter describing the affair, written by one of Wells' companions and but recently made public, is published in Mr. Dildine's article.

The Betrayal of Ensign Holmes.—The above writer in the same publication, date July 22, 1906, narrates another romance of Indian life—that of ensign Holmes, the young English officer in command of Fort Miami (where Fort Wayne stands) in 1763,

and who was decoyed to his death and his garrison captured through the agency of his Indian mistress. The story in its substance is not new, but Mr. Dildine dwells upon it more circumstantially than preceding historians, one of his sources of information being an aged resident of Fort Wayne, Mrs. Laura Sutenfield, who saw and talked to the Indian woman in the case, when the latter was very old. She disclaimed being a guilty party to the plot and implied that she had been avenged on the slayers of her lover.

HISTORICAL INTEREST IN WHITLEY COUNTY.

An intended notice of the historical interest manifested in Whitley county was crowded out of our last issue. This interest expresses itself in an annual "Old Settlers' Day" in which the county at large seems to participate. The occasion in 1905 drew together something like 6000 people, and while the meeting last summer (Aug. 16) was not so large, the county seat, Columbia City, was given over to it. One feature was the presence, as guests of honor, of the granddaughter and great-grandson of the famous Miami Indian, Little Turtle. The former, Mrs. Anthony Revarre, is now ninety-six years old, and she and her son Anthony Revarre, respectively named, in their own language, "Kil-so-quah" and "White Loon," belong to the few lingering representatives of an almost vanished race, and their neighbors of the succeeding race have done well to honor them. Kilsoquah, it is affirmed, is the last full-blood Miami Indian in the State, all others having a strain of Caucasian blood.

The interest in this direction among the Whitley county people was still more strikingly exemplified the past summer by a company of more than one hundred devoting a day and going in a body on an exploring expedition to establish, if possible, certain land marks, and verify certain traditions of Indian times in a region rich with Indian history. This, we understand, was in the interest of a history of Whitley county now in course of preparation. Space permitting, we would be glad to reprint the local account of this expedition, but we can only note and call attention to the very commendable spirit in Whitley county, which we trust will "grow by what it feeds upon."

NEWSPAPER INDEX.

INDIANA JOURNAL—SECOND INSTALMENT.

1828—

- Bad roads and mails.—Jan. 3.
- Art: First portrait painter (R. Terrell).—March 27.
- Paper mill at Madison.—May 8.
- White river, navigability of.—May 15.
- Indians, treaty with "Thornton band."—June 5.
- Library movement.—June 12. (Also July 3).
- Roads and highways (series, beginning)—June 12.
- Abel C. Pepper, sketch of.—July 17.
- Canals (series, beginning)—Aug. 28.
- Emigration to Wabash county.—Oct. 2.
- Fire company, first.—Oct. 23.
- Bible society; annual report.—Nov. 20.
- Governor James B. Ray, inaugural speech.—Dec. 13.
- Temperance Society (ad.)—Dec. 17.
- Agent of State for Indianapolis, report of.—Dec. 20.

1829—

- State House, proposed location of (communication).—Jan. 21.
- Sunday mails.—Feb. 12.
- Nomenclature: Lafayette and Indian names of several streams.—March 5.
- Grape culture.—April 16.
- Indian lands, disposition of, etc.—April 16.
- Sabbath schools in Marion county.—May 14.
- "Message" to the "Indianapolis legislature."—May 21.
- Tract Society, report of.—May 21.
- Fourth of July, Sabbath school celebration and address by Jas. Morrison.—July 9.
- Sale of pews (ad.)—July 9.
- Astronomy: "Anti-Newtonian" system; lecture by John Richardson, endorsed by James B. Ray and W. W. Wick.—July 30.
- Female school; terms per quarter.—July 30.

Cumberland (National) Road; advertisement for proposals, with names of those who had not relinquished land.—Sept. 3. (Much discussion of this road about this time.)

Logansport, description of, and first newspaper.—Sept. 10.

Immigration to New Purchase (ed.)—Sept. 17.

Temperance Society.—Dec. 3. (Also Dec. 8.)

Tippecanoe Battleground, contemplated sale of.—Dec. 3.

1830—

Indian affairs; address by Milton Stapp.—Feb. 17.

Indian affairs; address by — Graham (Subject: Extending the laws of the State over the Indian tribes.)—Feb. 24.

"Indianapolis Legislature," oration by Samuel Merrill.—March 3.

"Indianapolis Legislature."—Feb. 17.

Bible Society, address before by Dr. Coe.—May 12.

Indians, removal of and cost to States.—July 7.

First menagerie, advertising the "kinkajou," etc.—July 21.

"Grand menagerie," with a "rompo."—Aug. 18.

Colonization Society.—Sept. 1. (Also Sept. 8.)

Immigration.—Sept. 8.

James B. Ray, communication from, with punctuation, etc., as it left the writer's hand; literary curiosity.—Sept. 22.

Tippecanoe Battleground, re-interring of dead.—Sept. 29. (Also Nov. 3.)

Indiana Historical Society.—Dec. 15. (Also Dec. 25.)

Sales of lots for a number of new towns advertised this year.

1831—

Sale of Indianapolis lots by lottery (ad.)—Jan. 1.

Colonization Society.—Jan. 26.

Medical Society.—Jan. 26.

Portrait painter at Indianapolis (ad.)—Feb. 2.

Wild Man: good story.—Feb. 5.

"Indianapolis Legislature."—March 12.

James Noble, death of.—March 12. (Also March 19.)

White River, navigation of.—March 26. (Arrival of steamboat, "General Hanna.")

Donation land, sale of.—April 30.

Noah Noble, circular announcing candidacy for Governor's office.—May 7.

State House, plans advertised for.—May 21.
 Literary Society.—June 4.
 National Road bridge, bids advertised for.—June 11.
 Ray, James B., letter from.—June 18.
 Cumberland Road, proposals for (ad.)—June 18.
 Cumberland Road, sale of lots advertised.—June 18.
 Ryland T. Brown, oration by.—July 23.
 Michigan Road lands, sale of (ad.)—July 23.
 Soda fountain, first.—July 23.
 National Road bridge, letting of contract.—Aug. 6.
 Court House square, enclosing of.—Sept. 17.
 Market House, ad. for meeting to consider.—Sept. 24.
 Temperance Society.—Oct. 15.
 Historical Society.—Dec. 14.
 Michigan Road lands, sale of.—Aug. 13.
 State House, plans submitted for (ed.)—Dec. 31.

1832—

Canal Bill.—Jan. 11.
 Canal Bill, debate on.—Jan. 18.
 State House.—Feb. 25.
 Railroad meeting.—March 10.
 Lyceum of Indianapolis.—March 17.
 Market House meeting.—March 24.
 Lyceum.—April 7.
 Market House.—April 7.
 Lyceum.—May 26.
 Indian War, rumor of (Black Hawk.)—June 3.
 Indian scare, call for Indiana company.—June 9.
 Indian War.—June 16, June 23.
 Colonization Society.—June 23.
 Indian War.—June 30.
 Michigan Road.—June 30.
 Indian War, return of soldiers.—July 7.
 Market House, finished.—Aug. 11.
 Canal lands, sale of.—Sept. 1.
 Wabash, improvement of.—Sept. 8, Sept. 15, Sept. 22.
 Cumberland Road.—Oct. 6.

1833—

Indianapolis Legislature.—Jan. 2.

Colonization Society, address.—Jan. 5, Jan. 12.

“Indianapolis Legislature.”—Feb. 16.

Wabash Canal.—April 6.

Drowning of McPherson by Van Blaricum (first homicide.)—
May 11.

Remarkable girl (medium.)—May 25.

Colonization Society.—June 22.

Wabash Canal.—July 13.

Thompson, R. W., 4th of July Oration.—July 20.

Michigan Road (ad.)—Aug. 10.

Books, list of sold (ad.)—Aug. 10.

Star shower.—Nov. 16.

“New Novels” (ad.)—Nov. 23.

Far West, village of (ad.)—Dec. 14.

Wabash Canal.—Dec. 21.

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